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Naufugia

OR

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS

OF

SHIPWRECKS.

FRONTISPIECE.

see Page 366



Drawn by W Westall

Engraved by J Rye

Naufragia
OR
HISTORICAL MEMOIRS
OF
SHIPWRECKS
AND OF THE PROVIDENTIAL
DELIVERANCE OF VESSELS

By JAMES STANIER CLARKE F.R.S.

CHAPLAIN OF THE PRINCE'S HOUSEHOLD AND LIBRARIAN
TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS.

London

PRINTED BY I. GOLD, SHOE LANE, FLEET STREET,
FOR J. MAWMAN, 22, POULTRY,

MDCCCV.



TO ISAAC REED, WILLIAM LONG

AND THOMAS GREEN, ESQUIRES.

AND

THE OTHER MEMBERS

OF THEIR

Literary Club

WHO REQUESTED ME TO PUBLISH

AN HISTORY OF SHIPWRECKS

THIS

VOLUME

IS AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATED.

JAMES STANIER CLARKE,

PREFACE.

IT is now some years, since I watched with peculiar gratification in the gallery of my late friend GEORGE ROMNEY, Esq: the progress of his bold and rapid Genius, when delineating a most sublime scene of Shipwreck, which * *Thunberg* describes as having taken place in 1773, at the Cape of Good Hope. A Drawing was afterwards made at my request from Mr. ROMNEY's large Picture by his excellent pupil Mr. *Isaac Pocock*; and Mr. *Thunberg's* Narrative, with an engraving, were inserted in the third volume of the Naval Chronicle.

An occasional memoir of recent Shipwrecks thus commenced at my suggestion in the year 1800. Since which, as I ad-

* Vol. i, pages 270—275.

PREFACE.

vanced in a laborious Digest of Maritime Discoveries, and traced the progress both of ancient and modern Enterprise in exploring the Coasts of the World; I soon perceived, when I perused the volumes of *Ramusio*, of *Hakluyt*, and of *Purchas*, that an History of Shipwrecks of a more extensive and retrospective nature, than either the above Memoir, or the French *Histoire des Naufrages*, was wanting to my Country; and I resolved at some future period, if health and leisure would admit, to add this to some preceding efforts in Naval Literature.

Among the various Manuscripts and Journals, in this Department, which the courtesy of Authors has at different times submitted to my perusal; it is not irrelevant to the subject of the present Volume, to add some notice of a Folio Manuscript of peculiar value, containing an account of the providential Escape of a Seaman, who concealed his real Name under that of *PENROSE*, and lived many

PREFACE.

years on an uninhabited part of the Spanish Main: this MS. its possessor, *Thomas Eagles*, Esq. of Bristol, has intrusted to me for publication. *PENROSE* drifted out to sea whilst asleep in the Boat that was a-stern; and his Narrative contains the various resources he afterwards adopted, when he had reached his desolate place of abode, and the occasional intercourse, which, after a time, he preserved with some humane *Indians*. If I might deliver an opinion, after a careful and diligent perusal, in which my feelings were sensibly and repeatedly arrested, this * Narrative of *Penrose*, without saying any thing of its authenticity, is fully equal in point of interest, and superior in point of information respecting some parts of Natural History, to the celebrated volumes of *Robinson Crusoe*.

But to return to the more immediate object of this Preface. On publishing

* Whilst this Preface was at Press, the above MS. was shewn to *Mr. West* the President of the Royal Academy; who knew its Author, and has given additional testimony to his veracity, with some interesting Anecdotes.

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the Life of poor FALCONER, prefixed to a new edition of his Shipwreck, in which he so poetically described his former and subsequent fate; some Friends, who formed a leading part in that classic Society, which revered the talents of MR. ROMNEY, were pleased to request me to form an History of Shipwrecks. I was gratified to find a sanction so unsolicited, for a project I had already formed; and I have now endeavoured to execute this task to the best of my ability.

The Plan which I have adopted in this Volume, has not been to give a chronological series of Shipwrecks; for this, were it possible to be done with any uniformity, would not admit of the variety I wished to introduce. I therefore confined myself, as much as possible, to particular Seas; and have blended the quaint language of early Navigators with the more correct, or scientific narrative of later Mariners. I have also not confined myself merely to Shipwrecks;

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but extended my researches to such Facts as relieve the gloom of repeated destruction: and I devoutly hope, that the providential deliverance of Vessels from perilous situations, may teach Seamen, and such of my fellow Creatures as are exposed to Danger or Distress, to emulate the conduct of *St. Paul*; who, thrice shipwrecked, continually enforced this blessed precept, AGAINST HOPE, BELIEVE IN HOPE!

July 10, 1805.

The first of these is the fact that the
 second of these is the fact that the
 third of these is the fact that the
 fourth of these is the fact that the
 fifth of these is the fact that the
 sixth of these is the fact that the
 seventh of these is the fact that the
 eighth of these is the fact that the
 ninth of these is the fact that the
 tenth of these is the fact that the

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When Winds of Winter shake the Window Frame,	
And more endear your Fire—O think of him,	

Who sav'd alone from the devastating Storm
Is cast on some deserted Rock, who sees
Sun after Sun descend, and hopeless hears
At Morn the long Surge of the troubled Main
That beats without his wretched Cave ; mean time
He fears to wake the Echoes with his Voice,
So dread the Solitude !”

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* * Lieutenant *Fowler*, on his return to *Europe*, was on board
the *Earl Camden*, in Commodore *Dance's* Action : The *East In-*
dia Company voted Lieutenant *Fowler* 300*l.* for his gallantry on
that memorable Day.

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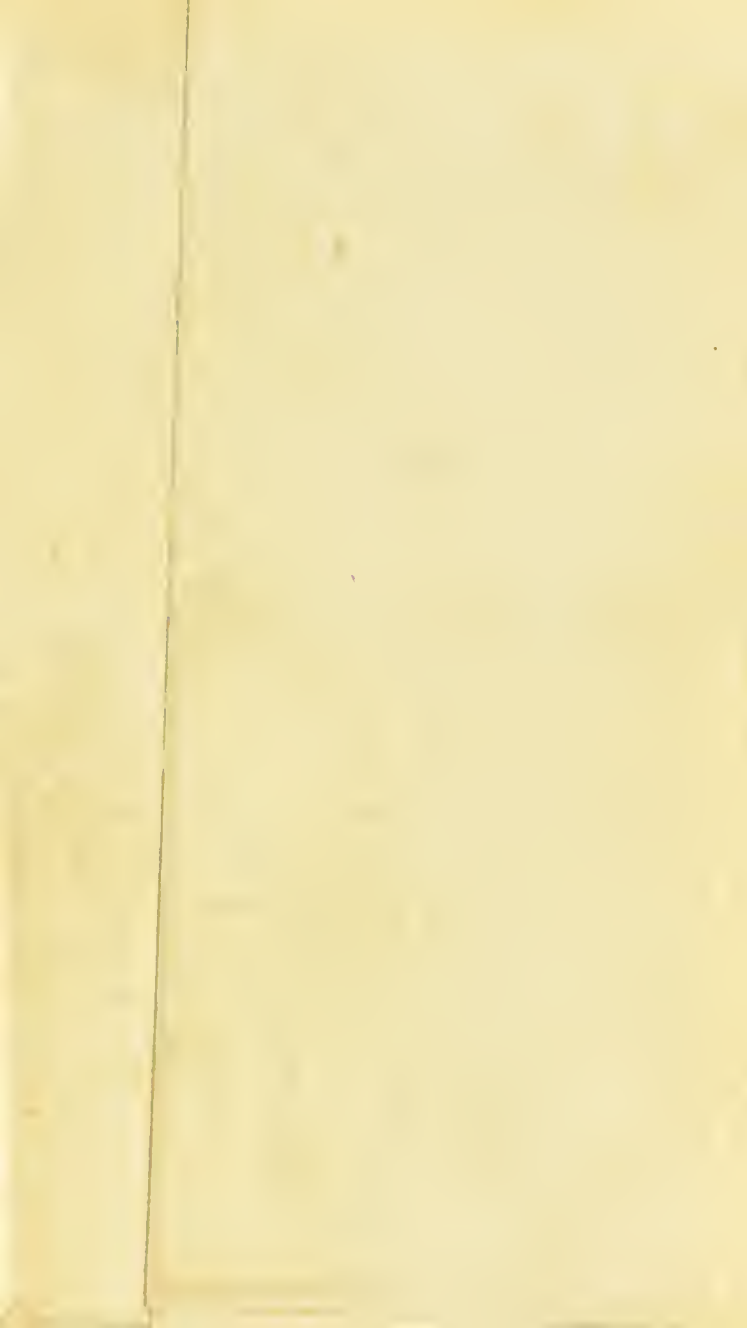
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ERRATA.

- Page 10, line 8 from bottom, for 1763 read 1703.
 59 and 60, Head Line, for DUKE read EARLE.
 116, The Note should have been printed thus: "*Step. Parmenius Budeius. Hakluyt*, vol. iii, page 137, inserts a Latin Poem by this Author."
 181, For *Hullifax* read *Halifax*.
 214, line 9, for a short Wind set in, read a sharp Wind.
 262, line 13, for, to provide little Baggage, read, to provide my little Baggage.
 346, Head Line, for RECEPTION OF THE FORT, read RECEPTION AT THE FORT.
 396, line 11, for Caks read Casks.

ADDITION.

The humane LIZARD mentioned in Captain *Falconer's* Narrative, (page 334,) is styled by Naturalists the MONITORY LIZARD. It is the most beautiful, and largest of the Lizard Tribe, measuring four or five Feet from the Nose to the tip of the Tail. (See *Shaw's Zoology*, vol. iii, part 1, page 214.)





A CHART of the LAND round the NORTH POLE, to elucidate Clarke's NATHADIA

Published July 27th 1786 by D. Munroe, Printer

CHAPTER I.

SECTION I.

Dissertation on Alexander Selkirk, and on the real author of Robinson Crusoe.

BEFORE we enter on the more solemn and awful subjects of this little Volume, it appeared to me not irrelevant to pay some attention to a character, which, whether known under the real name of *Alexander Selkirk*, or the fictitious one of *Robinson Crusoe*, has always been considered, if I may so express myself, as the venerable recorder of the shipwrecked Narrative. When I recollect the *avidity with which the page of *Crusoe* has been perused from its first appearance in 1719, the wide circulation it obtained on the Continent, and the peculiar delight it afforded me when a schoolboy; it seems astonishing, rather that a work of this kind should not have been previously undertaken, than that it

* Mr. Chalmers, in his *Life of Defoe*, informs us, that the first reception of *Robinson Crusoe* was immediate, and universal; and that *Taylor*, who purchased the manuscript after every bookseller had refused it, is said to have gained a thousand pounds. It has passed through more than twenty editions, beside those that have been printed on the Continent. During a short tour which I made in 1792, I found this Romance in the original, by the bed side of the Arch Duke of Austria.

should now be offered to the attention of the public. *Robinson Crusoe* does not yield even to *Gil Blas* in the universal suffrage it has experienced; and yet the supposed authors of each seem to be equally surreptitious and doubtful. Though they are both read, and admired; a specious *Frenchman, who never composed a single original work of merit, enjoys the reputation of the one, whilst *Alexander Selkirk* and *Defoe*, with more reason, divide the credit of the other.

That *Alexander Selkirk's* Story afforded hints for the outline of *The Life and strange Adventures of Robinson Crusoe, Mariner*, admits not of a doubt: but then it does not follow, nor can it be proved, that *Defoe* made an improper or unfair use of the papers of *Selkirk*; though Dr. *Beattie* in his *Moral and Critical Dissertations*† seems to imply as much. *Selkirk's* Story was printed in 1712, by Captain ‡ *Woodes Rogers*, and had therefore been made public about seven years before the appearance of *Crusoe*. Besides, as the writer of *Defoe's* Life in the *Biographia Britannica* || observes, “When *Robinson Crusoe* was first published, the Author was so far from being accused with having

* I may probably at some future period enter more largely on this subject; in which I am proud to acknowledge the support of one of the first Spanish scholars in this country, my friend Robert Bewicke, Esq.

† Pages 565, 566, 4to Ed. 1783. ‡ Page 125—131. 2d Ed.

|| Page 34.

taken his book from any manuscripts of *Alexander Selkirk's*, or from any personal conversations with him, that the great charge against him was, *That the Story was feigned; that it was all a Romance; that there never was any such man, or place, or circumstances in any man's life; that it was all formed and embellished by invention to impose upon the world.* This objection to his book, *Defoe* found it very difficult to answer: However, at length, in order to remove all such objections, and to prevent any farther doubt, or possibility of doubt, upon the subject; he published a declaration, in a Preface to the *Serious Reflections of Robinson Crusoe*, signed by *Robinson Crusoe* himself; and part of which is as follows:—*I Robinson Crusoe, being at this time in perfect and sound memory, (thanks be to God therefore,) do hereby declare, their objection is an invention, scandalous in design, and false in fact; and do affirm, that the Story, though allegorical, is also historical; and that it is the beautiful representation of a life of unexampled misfortunes; and of a variety not to be met with in the world: sincerely adapted to, and intended for the common good of mankind; and designed at first, as it is now farther applied, to the most serious uses possible."*

The Story of *Selkirk*, as given by Captain *Woodes Rogers**, who visited the island of Juan

* See also *Histoire Generale des Voyages*, (tome XI, p. 68.)

Fernandez in February 1709, without doubt formed the materials which the glowing imagination of the author of *Crusoe* afterwards so admirably arranged. It is as follows :

“ Our Pinnace returned from the shore (of the island of *Juan Fernandez*), and brought abundance of craw fish, with a Man cloathed in goat skins, who looked wilder than the first owners of them. He had been on the Island four years and four months, being left there by Captain *Stradling* in the *Cinque Ports* ; his name was *Alexander Selkirk*, a Scotchman, who had been master of the *Cinque Ports*, a ship that came here last with Captain *Dampier*, who told me that this was the best man in her ; so I immediately agreed with him to be a mate on board our ship. 'Twas he that made the fire last night when he saw our ships, which he judged to be English. During his stay here he saw several ships pass by, but only two came to anchor. As he went to view them, he found them to be Spaniards, and retired from them ; upon which they shot at him. Had they been French he would have submitted ; but chose to risque his dying alone on the Island, rather than fall into the hands of the Spaniards in these parts ; because he apprehended they would murder him, or make a slave of him in the mines : for he feared they would spare no stranger that might be capable of discovering the South Sea. The Spaniards had landed before he knew what they

were, and they came so near him that he had much ado to escape; for they not only shot at him, but pursued him into the woods, where he climbed to the top of a tree, at the foot of which they killed several goats just by; but went off again without discovering him. He told us that he was born at Largo, in the county of Fife in Scotland, and was bred a Sailor from his youth. The reason of his being left here was a difference betwixt him and his Captain; which, together with the ship's being leaky, made him willing rather to stay here, than go along with him at first; and when he was at last willing, the Captain would not receive him. He had been in the Island before to wood and water; when two of the ship's company were left upon it for six months till the ship returned, being chased then by two French South Sea ships.

“He had with him his Clothes and Bedding, with a Firelock, some Powder, Bullets, and Tobacco, an Hatchet, a Knife, a Kettle, a Bible, some practical pieces, and his mathematical Instruments and Books. He diverted and provided for himself as well as he could; but for the first eight months had much ado to bear up against Melancholy, and the terror of being left alone in such a desolate place. He built two Huts with piemento trees, covered them with long grass, and lined them with the skins of goats, which he killed with his gun as he wanted, so long as his Powder lasted, which was but a pound; and that being near spent, he got Fire by

rubbing two sticks of piemento wood together upon his knee. In the lesser Hut, at some distance from the other, he dressed his victuals, and in the larger he slept; and employed himself in reading, singing psalms, and praying: so that he said he was a better Christian while in this Solitude than ever he was before; or than, he was afraid, he should ever be again. At first he never ate any thing until hunger constrained him: partly from grief, and partly for want of bread and salt—nor did he go to bed until he could watch no longer; the piemento wood, which burnt very clear, served him both for firing and Candle, and refreshed him with its fragrant smell.

“ He might have had Fish enough, but could not eat them for want of salt, because they occasioned a looseness; except craw-fish, which are there as large as lobsters, and very good: these he sometimes boiled, and at other times broiled; as he did his goats’ flesh; of which he made very good broth, for they are not so rank as ours. He kept an account of five hundred that he killed while there, and caught as many more, which he marked on the ear and let go. When his Powder failed, he took them by speed of foot; for his way of living, and continual exercise of walking and running, cleared him of all gross humours; so that he ran with wonderful swiftness through the woods and up the rocks and hills—as we perceived when we employed him to catch goats for us: we had a bull dog which we

sent with several of our nimblest runners, to help him in catching goats ; but he distanced and tired both the dog and the men ; caught the goats, and brought them to us on his back. He told us that his agility in pursuing a goat had once like to have cost him his life : he pursued it with so much eagerness, that he caught hold of it on the brink of a Precipice, of which he was not aware, the bushes having hid it from him ; so that he fell with the goat down the Precipice a great height, and was so stunned and bruised with the fall, that he narrowly escaped with his life ; and, when he came to his senses, found the goat dead under him. He lay there about twenty-four hours, and was scarcely able to crawl to his Hut, which was about a mile distant, or to stir abroad again in ten days.

“ He came at last to relish his Meat well enough without Salt or Bread ; and in the season had plenty of good turnips, which had been sowed there by Captain *Dampier*'s men, and have now overspread some acres of ground. He had enough of good cabbage from the cabbage-trees, and seasoned his meat with the fruit of the piemento trees, which is the same as the Jamaica pepper, and smells deliciously. He found there also a black pepper, called *Malagita**.

* The Portuguese Pilot, as mentioned in his Voyage given by *Ramusio*, and translated in the Progress of Maritime Discovery, page 302, describes a species of Pepper called *melegete*, which he found on the coast of Africa.

“ He soon wore out all his Shoes and Clothes by running through the woods ; and at last being forced to shiſt without them, his feet became so hard, that he ran every where without annoyances : and it was some time before he could wear Shoes after we found him ; for not being used to any so long, his feet swelled when he came first to wear them again.

“ After he had conquered his melancholy, he diverted himself sometimes by cutting his name on the trees, and the time of his being left, and continuance there. He was at first much pestered with Cats and Rats, that had bred in great numbers from some of each species which had got ashore from ships that put in there to wood and water. The Rats gnawed his feet and clothes while asleep, which obliged him to cherish the Cats with his goats' flesh ; by which many of them became so tame, that they would lie about him in hundreds, and soon delivered him from the Rats. He likewise tamed some Kids ; and to divert himself, would now and then sing and dance with them and his Cats : So that by the care of Providence and vigor of his youth, being now about thirty years old, he came at last to conquer all the inconveniences of his solitude, and to be very easy. When his clothes wore out, he made himself a coat and cap of goat-skins, which he stitched together with little thongs of the same, that he cut with his knife. He had no other needle but

a nail; and when his knife was wore to the back, he made others as well as he could of some iron hoops that were left ashore; which he beat thin and ground upon stones. Having some linen cloth by him, he sewed himself Shirts with a nail, and stitched them with the worsted of his old stockings; which he pulled out on purpose. He had his last shirt on when we found him on the Island.

“ At his first coming on board us, he had so much forgot his language for want of use, that we could scarcely understand him, for he seemed to speak his words by halves. We offered him a dram, but he would not touch it, having drunk nothing but water since his being there, and it was some time before he could relish our Victuals.

“ He could give us an account of no other product of the Island than what we have mentioned; except small black plums, which are very good, but hard to come at; the trees which bear them growing on high mountains and rocks. Piemento trees are plenty here, and we saw some of sixty feet high, and about two yards thick; and cotton trees higher, and near four fathom round in the stock. The Climate is so good, that the Trees and Grass are verdant all the year. The Winter lasts no longer than June and July, and is not then severe; there being only a small frost, and a little hail, but sometimes great rains. The heat of the Summer is equally moderate; and there is not much thunder

or tempestuous weather of any sort. He saw no venomous or savage creature on the Island, nor any other sort of beast but goats, &c. as above mentioned; the first of which had been put ashore here on purpose for a breed by *Juan Fernando*, a Spaniard; who settled there with some families for a time, until the continent of Chili began to submit to the Spaniards, which being more profitable, tempted them to quit this Island; which is capable of maintaining a good number of people, and of being made so strong that they could not be easily dislodged*.”

Selkirk returned with Captain *Woodes Rogers* who remained about a fortnight at *Juan Fernandez*; and arrived in England by way of the East Indies on the first of October, 1711, having been absent eight years. He seems to have been born about the year 1676, and to have left England in the *Cinque Ports* galley during 1763. His being abandoned on the Island eventually proved a blessing; for the *Cinque Ports* ran ashore a few months after they had forsook him: the Captain and crew were taken prisoners by the Spaniards, and suffered great hardships. *Sir Richard Steele* often saw *Selkirk* after his arrival; and in a periodical work styled the *Englishman* †, notices his singular history: “When I first

* *Woodes Rogers’* cruising Voyage round the World, (page 125—131. 2d Ed.)

† Number 26, published Dec. 3, 1713.

saw him," adds Sir *Richard*, "I thought if I had not been let into his Character and Story, I could have discerned that he had been much separated from company, from his aspect and gesture. There was a strong but cheerful seriousness in his look, and a certain disregard to the ordinary things about him, as if he had been sunk in thought. When the ship which brought him off the Island came in, he received them with the greatest indifference with relation to the prospect of going off with them; but with great satisfaction in an opportunity to refresh and help them. The man frequently bewailed his return to the World, which could not, he said, with all its enjoyments, restore him to the tranquillity of his Solitude. Though I had frequently conversed with him; after a few months' absence he met me in the street, and though he spoke to me I could not recollect that I had seen him: familiar converse in this town had taken off the loneliness of his aspect, and quite altered his face.

This plain Man's Story is a memorable Example, that he is the happiest who confines his wants to natural necessities; and he that goes farther in his desires, increases his wants in proportion to his acquisitions; or, to use his own expression, "*I am now worth eight hundred pounds; but shall never be so happy as when I was not worth a *farthing.*"

The great comfort which all shipwrecked Mari-

* The Englishman, page 124.

ners must have derived from the perusal of *Robinson Crusoe*, has induced me to dwell thus long upon every thing that concerns a Work of so beneficial an import. It says more for Solitude, and the advantages which may be obtained from a proper use of it, than all the treatises that ever were published on that subject. The Reader lives, thinks, and acts with *Crusoe*: he assists him to sow his Corn, and to ornament his Cave: his mind, with him, acknowledges the manifold blessings of Christianity; and amidst the gloom and awful silence of a desert Island, by a perusal of the sacred Scriptures, holds converse with his God.—I never could understand what Dr. *Beattie* meant, when he asserted that this Romance “fixes in the mind a lively idea of the Horrors of Solitude:”—though I perfectly agree with him when he added—“it shows how, by labouring with one’s own hands, one may secure independence, and open for one’s self many sources of health and amusement.”

But before I conclude this Section, I wish to make the admirers of this Nautical Romance mindful of a report, which prevailed many years ago; that *Defoe*, after all, was not the real author of *Robinson Crusoe*. This assertion is noticed in an article in the seventh volume of the *Edinburgh Magazine*. Dr. *Towers* in his *Life of Defoe* in the *Biographia*, is inclined to pay no attention to it: but was that writer aware of the following

letter, which also appeared in the Gentleman's Magazine * for 1788? at least no notice is taken of it in his Life of *Defoe*.

“ MR. URBAN,

Dublin, February 25.

IN the course of a late conversation with a Nobleman of the first consequence and information in this kingdom, he assured me, that Mr. *Benjamin Holloway*, of Middleton Stony, assured him, some time ago; that he knew for fact, that the celebrated Romance of *Robinson Crusoe* was really written by the *Earl of Oxford*, when confined in the Tower of London; that his Lordship gave the manuscript to *Daniel Defoe*, who frequently visited him during his confinement; and that *Defoe*, having afterwards added the second volume, published the whole as his own production.—This Anecdote I would not venture to send to your valuable magazine, if I did not think my information good, and imagine it might be acceptable to your numerous readers; notwithstanding the Work has heretofore been generally attributed to the * latter.”

W. W.

It is impossible for me to enter on a discussion of this literary subject; though I thought the circumstance ought to be more generally known. And

* Vol. LVIII, Part I, page 208.

yet I must observe, that I always discerned a very striking falling off between the composition of the first and second volumes of this Romance—they seem to bear evident marks of having been the work of different writers.

SECTION II.

First Discovery of Juan Fernandez—Indian who lived there above three years—Account of the Island—a Seaman shipwrecked on its Coast, who lived there for five Years.

FROM the interesting narrative of *Selkirk*, and the pleasing Romance which has been formed upon it, the reader will in the next place desire an account of the Island of *Juan Fernandez*, and some of those perilous adventures which Mariners have since experienced in the adjacent seas.

Captain *Burney*, my fellow labourer in the progress of Maritime Discovery, in his valuable Chronological History of Discoveries in the Pacific Ocean, informs us, on the authority of a Spanish memorial published by Mr. *Dalrymple* in 1773, that a Spanish pilot named *Juan Fernandez* was the first who ventured to make the experiment of standing to a distance from the south-western coast of America: “where he found the winds favourable for getting to the South; and by running in that direction, until he was beyond the influence of the trade wind, he regained the Coast without difficulty; making the passage much more expeditiously than

it could have been performed by the in-shore navigation. In these new and circuitous tracks, several Islands were found not far to the West of the American Continent. The order in which they became known is not stated here with certainty. The earliest date concerning them that has been met with in the present investigation, is given to the two Islands named, one of them after its discoverer, *Juan Fernandez*, and the other, being more distant from the Continent, *Mas-a-fuera* (more without.) According to the Dictionary of *Alcedo* these Islands were first seen in 1563."

Juan Fernandez was afterwards much frequented by the South Sea Buccaneers; and in the year 1680 was visited by Captain *Bartholomew Sharpe*, who finding it uninhabited, and probably being ignorant of its original discoverer, gave it the name of *Queen Katherine's Island*. At his departure; as if this Island were destined to form repeatedly the solitude of some unfortunate Mariner, the following event took place—On the 12th of January in the ensuing year 1681, these Buccaneers, having taken the command of their Ship from Captain *Sharpe* and given it to Captain *Watlin*; and observing three sail of Spaniards hovering about the Island; hastened on board, without waiting for a poor INDIAN who at that time happened to be in the woods. Captain *Cowley*, on his arrival at the Island in March 1684, found him still living.—“ Now the Man, when he

saw our Ships, presently fansied us to be English, and thereupon went and caught two goats, and dressed them against our men came on shoar; there being several of our ship's company who were at the leaving of this Indian there by Captain *Sharpe*, and among others Captain *Edward Cooke* and Mr. *William Dampier*."

From the latter we derive some further particulars of this early and interesting *Crusoe*. "The INDIAN lived here alone above three years: and although he was several times sought after by the Spaniards, who knew he was left on the Island, yet they could never find him. He was in the woods hunting for goats, when Captain *Watlin* drew off his men; and the ship was under sail before he came back to the shore. He had with him his gun and a knife, with a small horn of powder, and a few shot: which being spent, he contrived a way, by notching his knife, to saw the barrel of his gun into small pieces, wherewith he made harpoons, lances, hooks, and a long knife; heating the pieces first in the fire, which he struck with his gun flint, and a piece of the barrel of his gun which he hardened; having learnt to do that among the English. The hot pieces of iron he would hammer out and bend as he pleased with stones, and saw them with his jagged knife; or grind them to an edge by long labour, and harden them to good temper as there was occasion. All this may seem strange to those

that are not acquainted with the sagacity of the Indians; but it is no more than these Moskito men are accustomed to in their own Country: where they make their own fishing and striking instruments without either forge or anvil, though they spend a good deal of time about them.

“ With such Instruments as he made in that manner, he got such provisions as the Island afforded, either Goats or Fish. He told us, that at first he was forced to eat Seal, which is very ordinary meat, before he had made Hooks: but afterwards he never killed any Seals but to make Lines, cutting their skins into thongs. He had a small House, or Hut, half a mile from the sea, which was lined with goats’ skins: his Couch, or *Barbecu* of sticks lying along about two feet distant from the ground, was spread with the same, and was all his Bedding. He had no Clothes left, having worn out those he brought from *Watlin’s* Ship, but only a Skin about his waist. He saw our Ship the day before we came to an anchor, and did believe we were English; and therefore killed three goats in the morning, before we came to an anchor, and dressed them with Cabbage to treat us, when we came ashore: He came then to the sea side to congratulate our safe arrival. And when we landed, a *Moskito Indian*, named *Robin*, first leaped ashore, and running to his brother Moskito man, threw himself flat on his face, at his feet; who helping

him up, and embracing him, fell flat with his face on the ground at *Robin's* feet, and was by him taken up also.—We stood with pleasure to behold the surprize and tenderness, and solemnity of this interview, which was exceedingly affectionate on both sides; and when their ceremonies of civility were over, we also, that stood gazing at them, drew near, each of us embracing him we had found here: who was overjoyed to see so many of his old friends come hither as he thought purposely to fetch him. He was named *Will*, as the other was *Robin*. These were names given them by the English, for they have no names among themselves; and they take it as a great favour to be named by any of us; and will complain for want of it, if we do not appoint them some Name when they are with us—saying of themselves, *They are poor Men, and have no * name!*”

The above-mentioned Anecdote is also inserted by Captain *Edward Cooke* † in his valuable account of a Voyage round the World, (1708—1711,) who being attached to a squadron of privateers then fitted out at Bristol on a South Sea expedition, accompanied Captain *Woodes Rogers*, and was pre-

* Dampier's Voyages, Vol. I, p. 84—87. See also Wafer's Voyage, Vol. I, p. 393; who at the latter end of 1687, left four of his men by their own desire on the Island of Juan Fernandez. They remained there for about two years, and were then taken away by a privateer.

† Vol. I, pages 36 and 111.

sent at his interview with *Alexander Selkirk*. Captain *Cooke* follows up the description given by *Ovalle*, and *Schouten*, of the Island of *Juan Fernandez*, with one by *Ringrose*, the writer of Captain *Sharpe's* Practical Voyage in the South Sea: "Here are two Islands together, the biggest whereof is three leagues and an half in length. As we approached, both Islands seemed to us nothing but one entire heap of rocks. That which lies more to the North is highest, though we could not see the tops thereof for the clouds which covered it. In most places it is so steep, that it looks almost perpendicular. I found the latitude here $33^{\circ} 45'$ South. We came to anchor at the south end of the Island, in a stately Bay we found there, but which lies open from the South to the S.E. winds; anchored in eleven fathom water, and only one furlong from the

* Which exactly agrees with the latest observations. Captain *Vancouver*, who was on this Island on his return home in March 1795, observes, (Vol. III, p. 399,) "We had sensibly felt the influence of a Current during the two last days, setting to the eastward at the rate of ten miles per day. In this situation the south-west point of *Juan Fernandez*, or rather what we supposed to be *Gout Island*, bore by compass N. 39° E. at the distance of eighteen miles. In the afternoon we passed the southern side of *Juan Fernandez*, at the distance of about fourteen miles, which was too indistinctly seen to attempt any delineation of its shores. Its S.W. Point appeared by our calculations to be situated in latitude $33^{\circ} 45'$ South, and longitude corrected by subsequent observations, $231^{\circ} 8' 47''$ East. Its aspect in this point of view was not very inviting; the Point terminates in a high steep bluff; its extreme part seemed to be less elevated, and the whole composed a group of broken irregular hills, forming altogether as rude and grotesque a Scene as the imagination can well fancy."

shore. We sent a canoe, to discover whether we could find any riding secure from the South wind, which most constantly blows on that coast ; and sent some men ashore to drive goats, whereof there is plenty in the Island. The canoe returning, reported, that there was good riding in another Bay, on the North side of the Island, in fourteen fathom water, and not above a quarter of a mile from the Shore, and that there was good Wooding ; whereas in the place where we had at first anchored, there was not a stick of wood, or tuft of grass to be found. The next day we had a tempest of violent winds, and fierce showers of rain. The same day we got in two hundred jars of water, bringing them a full league from the place of our riding. The 28th of December, 1769, I went with two canoes to fetch water ; but could not get aboard again, by reason of a fierce southerly wind blowing in from the land, which obliged us to wait a more favourable opportunity.—In the mean while, the wind increasing, our Ship was forced to get under sail, not without danger of being forced ashore ; and made away to seek another anchoring place. In the evening we ventured out in the canoes, and were forced to throw all our jars of water overboard, the Wind was so high ; yet came that night to the Harbour, where we expected to have found our Ship: but she was not there ; for which reason we called it,

False wild Harbour. Not knowing what to do, we went ashore, and, leaving our canoes dry, walked up into the Island along a Gully for the space of half a mile, to get from the noise of the Seals, which were troublesome on the shore. We kindled a fire, dried our clothes, and rested all night, though very hungry. The next morning we went farther North, to seek our Ship, and soon spied her at sea: whereupon we passed a point of land; entered a Bay about a mile in depth, and not above half a mile over, where we landed and made a fire for the Ship to see where we were. At night we made our bed of fern. Our Ship was forced to ply off and on, until the 30th of December. Our Pilot told us, that *a Ship had been cast away many years since on the Island, and only one man saved, who lived there alone five years before any Ship came to carry him off.* Here is a sort of trees called *Bilby*, and *Cabbage Trees*, the tops whereof are eaten as we do Cabbage in England. There is such plenty of Fish, that I have taken some on the surface of the water with a hook that had no bait to it. Some are of twenty pounds weight, and the smallest two pounds. The Island affords very good timber. Thus far **Ringrose* in the *Bucaneers of America.*"

* Captain Edward Cooke's Voyage, Vol. I, p. 107—111.

As this Island, so celebrated for having given birth to the Romance of Robinson Crusoe, forms a most commodious and desirable place for Ships to stop at when stationed in the South Sea; and as the Voyage of Captain *Edward Cooke* is scarce, and but little known, I shall next add a part of that Officer's own account. "It lies in the latitude of $33^{\circ} 49'$ South, latitude from St. Mary's $5^{\circ} 38'$ meridian distance from the same; $4^{\circ} 43'$ West. The variation of the Compass here, $6^{\circ} 0'$ East. This Island is high rugged land, in length about six leagues, and about three in breadth. I know of nothing about it, that may endanger a Ship, but what may be seen. We anchored in the great Bay, our best bower in forty fathom water, and then carried the stream anchor in with the shore; which we let go in about thirty fathom water, mooring on and off, about a mile from the bottom of the Bay, where we found plenty of fish of several sorts, and very large craw-fish. The Wind here commonly blows off the shore; sometimes very hard Squalls, else generally calm, and the water we rode in very smooth, by reason of the winding of the shore. The Man we found here told me, it had never blown in above four hours, all the time he was there. The situation of the Island is N.W. and S.E. It is all hills and valleys; and I question not would produce most plants if manured; for the

Soil in most places promises well, and there are some Turnips, and other roots, which I suppose were formerly sown, and there is great plenty of wood and water. In every Bay there are such multitudes of great Sea Lions, and Seals of several sorts, all with excellent Furs, that we could scarce walk along the shore: some of the Sea Lions are as big as our English oxen, and roar like Lions. They cut near a foot in fat. These we kill chiefly to make oil, which is very *good."

* Captain Edward Cooke's Voyage, Vol. I, p. 114--117.

SECTION III.

Commodore Anson's providential Escape, and arrival at the Island of Juan Fernandez.

THE attention of my readers may in the next place be directed to the perilous situation of Commodore *Anson* in the *Centurion*, and to the providential escape of his Crew from Shipwreck in the Sea adjacent to the Island of *Juan Fernandez*.

“It were endless,” * says Mr. Walter, “to recite minutely the various Disasters, Fatigues, and Terrors, which we encountered on this Coast (South America). All these went on increasing until the 22d of May, at which time the fury of all the Storms which we had hitherto encountered, seemed to be combined, and to have conspired our destruction. In this Hurricane almost all our Sails were split, and great part of our standing rigging broken; and, about eight in the evening, a mountainous overgrown Sea took us upon our starboard quarter, and gave us so prodigious a shock, that several of our Shrouds broke with the jerk, by which our Masts were greatly endangered; our Ballast and Stores too were so strangely shifted, that the Ship heeled afterwards two streaks to Port. Indeed, it was a most tremendous blow, and we were thrown into

* Chap. x, Book 1; and Chap. i, Book 2.

the utmost consternation from the apprehension of instantly foundering: and though the Wind abated in a few hours, yet as we had no more Sails left in a condition to bend to our Yards, the Ship laboured very much in a hollow Sea, rolling gunwale-to, for want of sail to steady her: so that we expected our Masts, which were now very slenderly supported, to come by the board every moment. However, we exerted ourselves the best we could to *stirrup* our Shrouds, to reeve new Lanyards, and to mend our Sails: but while these necessary operations were carrying on, we ran great risk of being driven on Shore on the Island of *Chiloe*, which was not far distant from us; but in the midst of our peril the Wind happily shifted to the southward, and we steered off the Land with the Main-Sail only; the Master and myself undertaking the management of the Helm, while every one else on board was busied in securing the Masts, and bending the Sails, as fast as they could be repaired.

“ And now, having cruised in vain for more than a fortnight in quest of the other Ships of the Squadron; it was resolved to take the advantage of the offing we had made from this terrible Coast, and to make the best of our way for the Island of *Juan Fernandez*. Indeed we had the greatest reason to suspect, that all but ourselves had perished. We were by this time reduced to so low a condition, that our utmost hopes could only suggest to us the

possibility of saving the Ship, and some part of the remaining enfeebled Crew.

“ Our deplorable situation, then, allowing no room for deliberation, we stood for the Island of *Juan Fernandez*; and, to save time, which was now extremely precious, (our men dying four, five, and six in a day, and likewise to avoid being engaged again with a Lee Shore,) we resolved, if possible, to hit the Island upon a meridian; and on the 28th of May being nearly in the Parallel upon which it is laid down, we had great expectations of seeing it; but not finding it in the position in which the Charts had taught us to expect it, we began to fear, that we had gone too far to the westward; and therefore, though the Commodore himself was strongly persuaded, that he saw it on the morning of the 28th of May; yet his Officers believing it to be only a cloud, it was, on a consultation, resolved to stand to the eastward, in the Parallel of the Island. On the 30th of May we had a view of the Continent of *Chili*: Though by this view of the Land we ascertained our position, yet it gave us great uneasiness to find that we had so needlessly altered our Course, when we were in all probability just upon the point of making the Island; for the mortality amongst us was now increased to a most dreadful degree. Our Water too began to grow scarce; so that a general dejection prevailed amongst us, which added much to the virulence of the disease. In this

desponding condition, with a crazy Ship, and not above ten foremast Men in a watch capable of doing duty, and even some of these lame, and unable to go aloft; we stood to the westward, and on the ninth of June, at day break, we at last discovered the long-wished for island of *Juan Fernandez*.

“ Though, on this first view, it appeared to be a very mountainous place, extremely ragged and irregular; yet as it was Land, and the Land we sought for, it was to us a most agreeable sight: for we were by this time reduced to so helpless a condition, that out of two hundred and odd Men, which remained alive, we could not, taking all our watches together, muster hands enough to work the Ship on an emergency; though we included the Officers, the Servants, and the Boys.

“ The Wind being northerly, we kept plying all that day, and the next night, in order to get in with the Land; and wearing the Ship in the Middle Watch, we had a melancholy instance of the almost incredible debility of our people; for the Lieutenant could muster no more than two Quartermasters, and six fore-mast Men capable of working; so that without the assistance of the Officers, Servants, and Boys, it might have proved impossible for us to have reached the Island, after we had got sight of it; and, even with this assistance, they were two hours in trimming the Sails.

“ However, on the tenth, in the afternoon, be-

ing now nearer the Shore, we could discover that the broken craggy Precipices were far from barren, being in most places covered with Woods; and that between them there were every where interspersed the finest Vallies, clothed with a most beautiful verdure, and watered with numerous Streams and Cascades; no Valley of any extent being unprovided of its proper rill. The aspect of this Country thus diversified, would at all times have been extremely delightful; but in our distressed situation, languishing as we were for the Land, and its vegetable productions, it is scarcely credible with what eagerness and transport we viewed the Shore. Those only who have endured a long series of thirst, can judge of the emotion with which we eyed a large Cascade of the most transparent Water, which poured itself from a Rock, near a hundred feet high into the Sea, at a small distance from the Ship. Even those amongst the diseased, who were not in the very last stages of the distemper, (the scurvy,) though they had been long confined to their Hammocks, exerted the small remains of strength that were left them, and crawled up the deck, to feast themselves with this reviving prospect. Thus we coasted the Shore, fully employed in the contemplation of this enchanting landskip: but at last the night closed upon us, before we had satisfied ourselves which was the proper Bay to anchor in.

“ At four in the morning the Cutter was dis-

patched with our third Lieutenant to find out the * Bay we were in search of; who returned again at Noon, with the Boat laden with Seals and Grass: for though the Island abounded with better Vegetables, yet the Boat's Crew in their short stay had not met with them; and they well knew that even Grass would prove a dainty, as indeed it was all soon and eagerly devoured.

“ The next Morning the Weather proving favourable, we endeavoured to weigh; but though on this occasion we mustered all the strength we could, obliging even the Sick, who were scarce able to keep on their legs, to assist us; yet the Capstan was so weakly manned, that it was near four hours before we hove the Cable right up and down: after which, with our utmost efforts, and with many surges, and some purchases we made use of, to increase our power, we found ourselves incapable of starting the anchor from the ground. However, at noon, as a fresh gale blew towards the Bay, we

* Commodore Anson anchored in *Cumberland Bay*, the middlemost on the northern side of the Island: he describes it as being the best Road for Shipping, and well secured to the Southward: it is only exposed from the N. by W. to the E. by S. All Ships should anchor on the western side of the Bay, within little more than two Cables' length of the Beach: Here they may ride in forty fathom water; and be in a great measure sheltered from a large heavy Sea, which comes rolling in whenever an eastern or a western Wind blows. It is however expedient, in this case, to arm the Cable with an iron Chain, or good rounding, for five or six fathom from the Anchor, to secure them from being rubbed by the foulness of the ground. (Pages 157, 158. 8vo Ed.)

were induced to set the Sails, which fortunately tripped the Anchor; and then we steered along Shore, until we came abreast of the point that forms the eastern part of the Bay. On the opening of the Bay, the Wind that had befriended us thus far, shifted, and blew from thence in Squalls; but, by means of the head way we had got, we loosed close in, till the Anchor brought us up in fifty-six fathom."

The Seaman should learn from this Narrative, that, although *Hope prolonged maketh the Heart sick*; yet if this prolongation is supported by resignation, such as I have witnessed in the Naval Profession, and by that Resolution which has long distinguished it; the gladness of the dejected Heart will ere long revive, and the wished for Haven appear. As I have elsewhere observed—"The Mariner thus preserves that internal strength and vigour, which will enable him to rise superior to the varied trials of Life, and to obtain consolation, when all around appears gloomy, desolate, and * forlorn."

* Sermons on the Character, and Professional Duties of Seamen.

CHAPTER II.

NORTH ATLANTIC.

SECTION I.

Singular Preservation of Robert à Machin, and the Ship's Crew; which led to the first Discovery of the Island of Madeira, by the Moderns.

THE Narrative of *Robert à Machin* is of considerable importance, as it records the first discovery of MADEIRA by an Englishman. The attention paid to it by *Alcaforado*, Equerry to Prince Henry (Duke of Viseo), gives it every authority that can be wished; but yet considerable difficulties arise respecting the exact date when this event took place. The reign of *Edward the Third* extends from 1327 to 1377. *Galvano*, who is not always correct, dates the discovery, on the authority of the *Chronicles of Castile*, about 1344. *Herbert* places it in 1328.—Both these dates give a longer imprisonment to *Morales* than is consistent with history: probably the exact Year was never recorded. Even the relation of *Alcaforado* is full of subsequent interpolations, many of which are pointed out by

Mr. *Green* (Astley's Collection, Vol. I, p. 571). The reign of *Edward the Third* might have been thus inserted, to give greater authority to the adventures of our countrymen.

“ It was in the glorious reign of *Edward the Third* of England, that *Robert à Machin*, a gentleman of the second degree of nobility, whose genius was only equalled by his gallantry and courage, beheld and loved the beautiful *Anna d'Arfet**: their attachment was mutual; but the pleasing indulgence of ardent hope gratified and betrayed their passion. The pride of the illustrious family of *d'Arfet* rendered them insensible to the happiness of their daughter; they preferred the indulgence of Ambition to the voice of Duty and Love. The Feudal Tyranny of the age was friendly to their cruel design, and a warrant from the King seemed to justify the vanity of a Parent. The consolation of an ingenuous mind supported *Machin* in confinement; its energy thus compressed sought only for redress; nor did it yield to despondency when, on being delivered from prison, he found that the innocent cause of his persecution had been forced to marry a nobleman, who had carried her to his castle near Bristol. The friends of *Machin* made his misfortune their own; and one of them

* Some writers have preferred the name of *Dorset*, which a foreign orthography might turn into *d'Orset*, and thence to *d'Arfet*. (See la Harpe's Collection of Voyages, Vol. I, p. 216.)

had the address to be introduced, under the character of a Groom, to the service of the afflicted *Anna*. The prospect of the Ocean, which during their rides extended before them, suggested or matured the plan of escape; and the probability of a secure asylum, was opposed to the dangers of a passage to the Coast of France. Under pretence of receiving benefit from Sea air, the Victim of parental ambition was enabled, without delay, to elude suspicion; whilst *Machin*, in the successful completion of his anxious design, was equally insensible to the particular season of the year, or the portentous appearance of Weather, which in calmer moments he would have duly observed.

“ The gradual rising of a gale of Wind rendered the astonished fugitives sensible of their rashness; as the Tempest approached, the thick darkness of Night completed the horror of the scene. In their confusion the intended Port was missed, or could not be reached; their Vessel drove at the mercy of the Winds; and in the morning they found themselves in the midst of an unknown Ocean, without the skill that could determine their situation, or the experience that could direct their Course. The dawn of twelve mornings returned without the sight of Land: when at length, after a Night of increased anxiety, as they eagerly watched the earliest streaks of day, an Object loomed in the horizon: continual disappointment produced a querulous despondency;

whilst they alternately believed and doubted, the thick grey haze was dispersed by the rising Sun, and a general burst of joy welcomed the certainty of Land. A luxuriancy of Trees was soon visible, to whose appearance they were utter strangers; and the beautiful plumage of unknown birds, who came in flocks from the Island, gave at first the semblance of a Dream to their astonishing deliverance.

“ The Boat being hoisted out to examine the Coast, returned with a favourable account. *Machin* and his friends accompanied their trembling charge, leaving the rest to secure the Vessel. The wilderness of the adjacent Country possessed additional charms to Men escaped from destruction; and the rich scenery of *Madeira* was *again beheld, after a lapse of many centuries, by the eyes of Europeans. An opening in the extensive Woods, that was encircled with laurels and flowering shrubs, presented a delightful retreat; a venerable Tree, the growth of ages, offered, on an adjoining eminence, its welcome shade; and the first moments of liberty were employed in forming a romantic residence, with the abundant materials supplied by Nature.

“ Curiosity to explore their new Discovery was increased by the novelty of every object they beheld: this varied occupation continued for three

* It was not only visited by the *Romans*, but probably also by the *Normans*, those skilful Navigators of whose Discoveries we know so little; who preceded the Portuguese, and followed the Arabians in nautical skill.

days, until the survey was interrupted by an alarming Hurricane, that came on during the Night, and rendered them extremely anxious for their Companions who were on board. The ensuing morning destroyed every prospect of happiness : they in vain sought for the Vessel, which had drove from her moorings, and was wrecked on the Coast of Morocco ; where, as it afterward appeared, all on board were immediately seized as Slaves, and sent to prison.

The afflicted *Machin* found this last trial too severe for his disconsolate Companion : her tender mind, overcome by the scenes she had endured, needed the conscious sense of a strict discharge of duty to renew its strength. From the moment it was reported that the Vessel could not be found, she became dumb with grief, expired after a few days of silent despair, and was soon followed by her inconsolable lover. The companions of *Machin*, forgetting their own situation, were entirely occupied in watching over their emaciated friend ; but all attempts to administer consolation were fruitless : on the fifth day they received his parting breath, and earnest injunction—*that they would place his body in the same grave, under the venerable Tree, which amidst an agony of tears they had so lately made for the unfortunate Victim of his temerity ; where the altar that had been raised to celebrate their deliverance, would now mark their untimely*

Tomb. This painful duty being performed, they fixed a large Wooden Cross over the Grave, with the inscription which *Machin* had composed, to record their melancholy Adventures; and to request, that if any Christian should hereafter visit the spot, they would in the same place build a church, and dedicate it to Christ. Having thus obeyed the dictates of friendship, they fitted out the Boat, which from their first landing had been kept ashore; their intention was to return if possible to England: but either owing to want of skill, to the currents, or unfavourable weather, they were driven on the same Coast with their Shipmates, and joined them in their Moorish * prison."

* Clarke's Progress of Maritime Discovery, Vol. I, p. 167—170. See also Mr. Bowles' beautiful Poem on the same Subject; with an Engraving of *Anna's Tomb*, from the Pencil of Mrs. Benett (Page 145—159.)

—————" but never human Eye
Had mark'd the Spot, or gaz'd upon the Grave
Of the Unfortunate; but for the Voice
Of Enterprise, that spoke from SAGRES' Towers,
THROUGH OCEAN'S PERILS, STORMS, AND UNKNOWN WASTES,
SPEED WE TO ASIA!"

SECTION II.

Perilous Situation of some Seamen, who appear to have visited Puerto Santo prior to the Portuguese.

THERE is a curious story in the NUBIAN GEOGRAPHER which records the preservation of some Seamen who were sent to Sea in a Boat with their eyes and hands bound ; where they remained three days and nights : and as this fact seems to throw some light on the early discovery of either one of the *Canary Islands*, or of *Puerto Santo*, I insert the passage, from Mr. Glass's * History.

“ Opposite to *Lisbon*, which is situated on the Coast of the *Dark Sea*, on the south bank of the River, is the Castle of Almaaden (of *Treasure*), so called from the Gold which is thrown out after a Storm at Sea.—From *Lisbon* went out *Almaghrurin* (the *Wanderers*), who attempted the *Dark Sea* to make Discoveries. And this is their History :

“ Eight men, who were Cousins, having built a Merchant Ship, and provided it with water, and necessary provisions for several months, commenced their Voyage as soon as the East Wind began to blow : and when they had sailed almost eleven days,

with a fair Wind, they came at last to a certain Sea, whose thick waters had a disagreeable smell, where there were many Rocks, and a dusky light : wherefore, being afraid of certain Shipwreck, they altered their course, and sailing twelve days to the South, they landed upon an Island full of Sheep, or Cattle, where innumerable flocks strayed without a shepherd or guide. Here they found a fountain of running water, which was overshadowed by a wild fig tree : and having caught some sheep, or cattle, they killed them ; but perceiving their flesh so bitter that it could not be eaten, they only took the skins. After this, sailing also twelve days to the South, they descried at a distance a certain Island ; and seeing habitations and cultivated lands, they sailed near to it, to make further Discoveries. But not long after, they were surrounded with Boats, taken prisoners, and conducted, together with their Ship, to a certain Town situated on the Sea Coast ; where, when they arrived, they saw reddish Men, with thin and long hair, and tall in stature ; the Women were surprizingly beautiful. They were kept there for three days, in a certain house ; but on the fourth day a Man came to them, and asked them in Arabic concerning their condition : *for what they came, and to whom they belonged ?* When they had told him all their story, he promised happy things to them ; and at the same time told them he was the King's Interpreter. Where-

fore the next day, being brought to the King, and interrogated by him about the same things which the Interpreter had asked—they told the King the same story which they had told the Interpreter the day before : *that they had ventured to Sea to discover whatever was remarkable or wonderful in it, and to penetrate to its utmost bounds.* The King hearing these things, laughed ; and said to the Interpreter—*Tell the Men, that my Father commanded some of his Subjects to sail on this Sea ; and they sailed by its breadth a whole month, so that the light failed them altogether ; and so their Voyage was vain, and useless.* Moreover, the King commanded the Interpreter to promise good things in his name to these people, and to bid them put their confidence in him. They were then conducted back to the place of their confinement, and detained there till the West Wind began to blow. Then being put into a Boat, with their eyes bound, they were sent to Sea ; where, according to their relation, they remained three Days and Nights. At length they arrived at the Continent, where they were put on Shore, with their hands tied behind their backs, and thus left to shift for themselves. In this condition they lay until day break ; during which they suffered the greatest uneasiness from being bound so tight. But at length hearing a noise of human voices, they altogether called aloud for help : when some people approaching,

and seeing them in this miserable condition, enquired of them the cause. These people, who were Barbarians, asked them if they knew how far they were from their own Country? To which they replied, *They could not tell.* Upon this they were told, that it was two months' travel. The Commander of these unfortunate Men, hearing this, burst out into this exelamation—*Va Asfi! alas! what we suffer!* And the place has ever since been called *Asfi.* It is an *Harbour in the westernmost part of the Coast."

Had an History of Shipwrecks existed prior to the Voyages of *du Gama* and *Columbus*, some curious facts, similar to the above, might have survived; which greatly tend to elucidate the early Voyages of the *Arabians*, and also the *Normans*, who preceded even the *Portuguese* in Maritime Discoveries; and so early as the year 846 possessed a powerful Navy. But their history, like that of *Carthage*, has sunk into oblivion. Yet I have sometimes wished to collect some of these insulated or dispersed facts, which have survived the wreck and still float on the surface of History. Such, for instance, as the following; which seems to prove, that *Columbus*, in his Discovery of America, only followed the track of preceding Navigators:—On his second Voyage to the West Indies, he touched

* *Azaffi*, on the Coast of Barbary, opposite to which is the Island of *Puerto Santo*.

at the Island of Guadaloupe ; *and there found the Stern of a Ship lying on the Shore.* This curious fragment of a Vessel was strangely neglected : an examination of its build might at least have led to a knowledge of the Country to which it belonged ; and consequently the prior discovery of the Island and the unfortunate Crew who perished on its Coast, might have been in some measure ascertained.

Mr. *Glass*, who notices this circumstance, gives the following account of the *loss of an English Ship, which deserves to be more known, near the rocky and uninhabited Island of *Alegranza*.

“ About eight miles to the Eastward of *Alegranza*, and *Graciosa*, is a large high rock in the Sea, called *Roca del Este*, the East Rock. On the West side of those Islands is another of the same size, *Roca del Oeste*, the West Rock. *South west about three leagues from *Graciosa*, lies a rocky uninhabited Island, named *Santa Clara*. Many Ships are wrecked upon these uninhabited Islands in the night time ; being misled by errors in their reckoning ; and also by those Islands being improperly laid down in our Charts ; which generally place them thirty miles further South than they ought to be.

“ I remember, that a few years ago an English Ship ran, in the night, upon *Alegranza*, and was

soon after beat to pieces. The Crew with some difficulty got safe ashore upon the Island, where they made Signals to acquaint the Natives of *Lancerota* with their distress and bring them to their relief, but in vain.

“ Mean time they had the good fortune to find some rain water in the holes of the Rocks. This, with what provisions they had saved from the Wreck, enabled them to subsist for some days; but seeing famine stare them in the face, and observing that the Wind blew almost continually from *Aleganza* toward *Graciosa*, they made a Raft of Spars, which they had saved from the Wreck; and secured it well together with ropes. Upon this Raft the Master of the Vessel embarking, having a Mast and Sail, and an Oar to serve instead of a Rudder; boldly put to Sea, and soon after safely landed in *Graciosa*; where, as it was then Winter Season, he found some Shepherds and Fishermen, to whom he related his adventure, and the distress of his Crew: upon which the Fishermen immediately went off in a Boat to their relief, and brought them all safe to *Lancerota*.”

SECTION III.

*Shipwreck of the Toby from Hakluyt — Liberality
of the Irish Merchants.*

HAKLUYT, at the close of his second * volume, gives an account of a Shipwreck in the *Atlantic*; which he styles *The casting away of the TONIE neere Cape Espartel, corruptly called Cape Sprat, without the Strait of Gibraltar, on the Coast of Barbarie. 1593.* The quaintness of his language and expressions will give a variety to our subject.

“The TONIE of LONDON a Shippe of two hundred and fifty tunnes, manned with fiftie Men, the Owner whereof was the worshipfull *M. Richard Staper*, being bound for *Liorno, Zante, and Patras* in *Morea*, being laden with Marchandize to the value of 11, or 12,000 ponds sterling; set sayle from *Black-wall* the 16 day of August, 1593: and we went thence to *Portsmouth*, where we tooke in great quantitie of wheate; and set sayle foorth of *Stokes Bay* in the Isle of Wight, the sixth day of October, the Winde being faire: and the 16 of the same moneth we were in the heighth of *Cape S. Vincent*, where on the next morning we

* 2d Ed. page 201.

descried a Sayle which lay in try, right a head off us; to which we gave chase with very much Winde, the Sayle being a Spaniard, which wee found in fine so good of sayle that we were faine to leave her and give her over. Two dayes after this we had sight of Mount *Chiego*, which is the first high-land which we deserie on the Spanish Coast, at the entrance of the Straight of Gibraltar; where we had very foule weather and the Winde seant two dayes together. Here we lay off to the Sea. The Master, whose name was *George Goodlay*, being a young Man, and one who never tooke charge before for those parts; was very proud of that charge which he was litle able to discharge; neither would take any counsel of any of his Company: but did as he thought best himself, and in the end of the two dayes of foule weather east about, and the Winde being faire, bare in with the Straights' mouth.

The nineteenth day, at Night, he, thinking that he was farther off the Land than he was, bare sayle all that Night, and an houre and an halfe before day had ranne our Shippe upon the ground on the Coast of *Barbarie*, without the Straight, foure leagues to the South of Cape *Espartel*. Whereupon being all not a little astonied, the Master said unto us—*I pray you forgive me, for this is my fault and no man's else.* The Company asked him, whether they should cut off the maine Maste: *No,*

sayd the Master, we will hoyse out our Boate.— But one of our Men comming speedily up, sayd—*Sirs! the Ship is full of water.—Well,* sayd the Master, *then cut the Mayne Mast overboard:* which thing we did with all speede. But the after part suddenly split asunder in such sort that no man was able to stand upon it; but all fled upon the Foremast up into the Shronds thereof, and hung there for a time: but seeing nothing but present death approach (being so suddenly taken that we could not make a Raft which we had determined) we committed ourselves vnto the Lord, and beganne with doleful tune, and heavy hearts, to sing the twelfth Psalme—*Helpe Lord, for good and godly Men, &c.* Howbeit, before we had finished foure verses, the waves of the Sea had stopped the breathes of most of our Men: For the Foremaste with the weight of our Men, and the force of the Sea, fell downe into the water, and vpon the fall thereof there were thirty-eight drowned; and only twelve by God's Providence, partly by swimming and other meanes of chests gotte on Shoare, which was about a quarter of a mile from the Wracke of the Ship. The Master, called *George Goodley*, and *William Palmer* his Mate, both perished. *M. Cæsar* also, being Captaine and Owner, was likewise drowned: none of the Officers were sared but the Carpenter.

The twelve which the Lord had delivered from

extreme danger of the Sea, at our comming ashore, fell in a maner into as great distresse. At our first comming on Shoare we all fell downe on our knees, praying the Lord most humbly for his mercifull goodnesse. Our Prayers being done, we consulted together what course to take; seeing we were fallen into a desert place: and we travelled all that day vntill night, sometimes one way and sometimes another, and could finde no kinde of Inhabitants; onely we saw where wilde beasts had bene, and places where there had bene Houses, which after we perceived to have bene burnt by the *Portugals*. So at Night, falling into certaine Groves of Olive Trees, we climed up, and sate in them to avoid the danger of Lions, and other wilde Beasts, whereof we saw many the next morning. The next day we travelled vntill three of the clocke in the afternoone without any food, but water and wilde date roots: then going over a Mountaine, we had sight of *Cape Espartel*; whereby we knewe somewhat better which way to travell: and then we went forward untill we came to an hedgerow made with great long canes. We spied and looked over it, and beheld a number of Men, as well horsemen as footmen, to the number of some five thousand, in skirmish together with small shot and other weapons. And after consultation what we were best to do, we concluded to yeeld ourselves vnto them; being destitute of all meanes of resistance. So rising vp

we marched toward them; who espying vs, foorth-with some hundred of them with their javelins in their hands came running towards vs as though they would have run vs thorow. Howbeit they onely strooke vs flatting with their weapons, and said, that we were Spaniards: And we told them that we were Englishmen; which they would not beleewe yet. By and by the conflict being ended, and night approaching, the Captaine of the Moores, a man of some fifty-six yeares olde, came unto vs, and by his Interpreter which spake Italian, asked, *what we were, and from whence we came?*—One Thomas Henmore of our Company, which could speake Italian, declared unto him, that we were Marchants, and how by great misfortune our Ship, Marchandise, and the greatest part of our Company were pitifully cast away vpon their Coast. But he, void of Humanity and all Manhood, for all this, caused his Men to strip vs out of our Apparell, even to our shirts; to see what money and jewels we had about vs: which when they had found to the value of some two hundred ponds in golde and pearles, they gave vs some of our Apparell againe, and bread and water only to comfort vs.

The next Morning they carried vs downe to the Shoare where our Shippe was cast away; which was some sixteene miles from that place. In which Journey they vsed vs like their slaves, making vs

(being extreame weake) to carry their stuffe, and offering to beat vs if wee went not so fast as they. We asked them, why they vsed vs so? and they replied, that wee were their Captives. Wee said, wee were their friends, and that there was neuer Englishman Captive to the King of Marocco.—So wee came downe to the Shippe, and lay there with them seuen dayes, while they had gotten all the goods they could, and then they parted it amongst them. After the end of these seuen dayes the Capitaine appointed twenty of his Men wel armed, to bring vs vp into the Countrey; and the first night wee came to the side of a River called *Alarach*, where wee lay on the Grasse all that Night. So the next day wee went over the River in a Frigate of nine Oares on a side; the River being in that place above a quarter of a Mile broad, and that day wee went to a towne of thirty houses, called *Totteon*. There wee lay foure dayes, having nothing to feed on but bread and water; and then wee went to a towne called *Cassuri*; and there wee were deliuered by those twenty Souldiers vnto the *Alcaide*, which examined vs what wee were. And wee tolde him: He gave vs a good answere, and sent vs to the Jewes house, where wee lay seuen dayes.

In the meane while that wee lay here, there were brought thither twenty Spaniards, and twenty Frenchmen; which Spaniards were taken in a conflict on land, but the Frenchmen were by foule

weather east on Land, within the Straights, about *Cape de Gate*, and so made Captives. Thus at the seven dayes end, wee twelve Englishmen, the twelve French, and the twenty Spaniards, were all conducted toward *Morocco*, with nine hundred Soldiers, horsemen and footmen; and in two dayes journey wee came to the River of *Fez*, where wee lodged all Night, being provided of Tents. The next day wee went to a Towne called *Salle*, and lay without the Towne in Tents. From thence wee travelled almost an hundred miles without finding any Towne; but every Night wee came to fresh water, which was partly running water and sometimes raine water.—So we came at last within three miles of the city of *Morocco*, where wee pitched our Tents: and there wee mette with a Carrier, which did travell in the countrey for the English Merchants; and by him wee sent word vnto them of our estate: And they returned the next day vnto vs a Moore, which brought vs victuals; being at that instant very feeble and hungry; and withall sent vs a Letter, with pen, inke, and paper—willing vs to write vnto them what Shippe it was that was cast away; and how many, and what Men there were alive? For, said they, “wee would knowe with speed, for to Morow is the King’s Court: and therefore wee would know, for that you should not come into the Citie like Captives.” But for all that, wee were carried in as Captives, and with ropes

about our neckes ; as well English, as the French and Spaniards. And so wee were carried before the King : and when wee came before him he did commit vs all to Ward, where wee lay fifteen dayes in close Prison ; and in the end wee were cleared by the English Marchants to their great charges : for our deliverance cost them 700 Ounces, every ounce in that Countrey contayning two shillings. And when wee came out of Prison wee went to *Alfandica*, where wee continued eight weekes with the English Marchants : at the end of which time being well apparelled by the bountie of our Marchants, wee were conveyed downe by the space of eight dayes journey to *S. Cruz*, where the English Ships road ; where wee took Shipping about the twentieth of March, two in the *ANNE FRANCIS* of *London*, and five more of vs, five dayes after, in the *EXPEDITION* of *London* ; and two more in a Flemish Flie Boat ; and one in the *MARY EDWARD* also of *London* : other two of our number died in the Countrey ; the one, at our first imprisonment at *Marocco*, whose name was *George Hancock*, and the other at *S. Cruz*, whose name was *Robert Swancon* ; whose death was hastened by eating of rootes, and other unnatural things to slake their raging hunger in our travaile ; and by our hard and cold lodging in the open fields without Tents.—Thus of fiftie persons, through the rashnesse of an unskilful Master, ten onely survived of vs ; and after a thousand miseries

returned home—poore, sicke, and feeble, into our Countrey.

Richard Johnson.

William Williams, Carpenter.

John Durham.

Abraham Rouse.

John Matthews.

Thomas Henmore.

John Silvester.

Thomas Whiting.

William Church.

John Fox.

To the grateful testimony which these Shipwrecked Mariners thus bore of the Humanity of English Merchants, (an Humanity which still survives in the Patriotic Society at Lloyd's,) the following addition, of a later date, may be subjoined.

(April 30, 1785.) The Merchants of *Corke* having received information, that, from so long a continuance of Easterly Winds, many homeward bound Vessels from *America*, and the *West Indies* were then near the Coast, unable to make the Land, and in great want of the necessaries of Life; did, at their own expense, dispatch a fast sailing Cutter to cruise off Cape Clear, laden with Bread, Water, Beef, Pork, and likewise fresh Provisions, &c. in order to administer immediate relief to such as might be found in need thereof. The management of this Expedition was entrusted to a confidential person, who went as Supercargo, and was directed to relieve whoever he might meet with in distress; WITHOUT REGARDING THE COUNTRY

THEY BELONGED TO, OR THE PORT TO WHICH THEY WERE DESTINED!—He had it also in particular Charge, not to accept the smallest return for what assistance he might happily afford; as the Gentlemen, who promoted the Undertaking, considered themselves amply rewarded by the pleasure which results from Benevolence.—This humane idea was no sooner suggested, than, in order to carry it into immediate effect, a most liberal Subscription was filled up with alacrity. The above noble instance of disinterested Generosity does honour to the Character of the Irish Nation, and shows how well they deserve to be admitted into all the privileges and blessings of that Country—*whose Merchants are Princes, and whose Traffickers are the Honourable of the Earth.*

SECTION IV.

Notice of the Earl of Cumberland's twelve Voyages, from Purchas—Perils which his Lordship endured.

PURCHAS begins the fourth Volume of his *Pilgrimes*, the most interesting portion of his valuable Work, with “ A brief Relation of the severale Voyages vndertaken and performed by the Right Honourable GEORGE EARLE OF CUMBERLAND, in his owne Person, or at his owne Charge, and by his direction: collected out of the Relations and Journals of credible Persons, actors therein.” The *first* Voyage, intended for the South Sea, begun from Gravesend, June the 26th, 1586, with three Ships and a Pinnace: the RED DRAGON, Admiral, two hundred and sixty tons, and one hundred and thirty Men, commanded by Captain *Robert Widrington*. The *second* Voyage was to be towards the Spanish Coast, Oct. 4, 1588, in the GOLDEN LION; which the Queen lent him, in consequence of his brave conduct when the Country was threatened by the Spanish Armada: The Earl victualled and fitted out this Ship at his own expense; but his liberality was in a great measure frustrated by a Storm, which obliged him to cut away the main-mast.

“ His spirit remaining, neuertheless,” as *Purchas* adds, “ higher then the Windes, and more resolutely by Stormes compact, and vnited in itselfe,” he procured of her Majesty another Ship, the *VICTORY*, accompanied with the *MEG* and *MARGARET*; two small Ships, and one Caruell. These were also fitted out at his private expense, and sailed from Plymouth June the 18th, 1589. Having visited *Tercera*, and taken some Prizes; in obtaining of which “ He receiued three shot vpon his Target, and a fourth on the side, not deepe; his head also broken with stones that the blood couered his face; both it and his legs likewise burned with *fire balls;” the *MEG* was sent with one of the Prizes to *England*, whilst his Lordship held his course for *Spain*: The perils which he afterwards endured would have daunted even a modern Seaman.

“ Thus † full of Joy they resolued homewards, but Sea-fortunes are variable, hauing two inconstant parents, Aire and Water. His Lordship sent Capitaine *Lyster*, (his own Captain,) in the Mexican Prize for Portsmouth; which at *Helcliffe* in Cornwall was wracked, the Capitaine and all his Companie drowned except fve or sixe.—Scarsitie of drinke caused by contrarie Windes, caused his Lordship to seeke to recouer some part of Ireland for reliefe: but wayting for entrance, was put off againe, their Beer and Water being all spent.

* Page 1143 (40.)

† *Ibid.* page (50.)

Three spoonfuls of Vineger were allowed to each Man at a Meale, with some small reliefe squeezed out of the lees of their Wine Vessels: which continued fourteene dayes, without other supply then the drops of Haile and Raine, carefully saued with Sheets and Napkins. Some dranke vp the soyled running water at the scupper holes; others saued by deuise the runnings downe the Masts and tarred Ropes; and many licked the moist Boards, Rails, and Masts with their tongues like Dogs. Yet was that Raine so intermingled with the Spric of the foaming Seas in that extreme Storme, that it could not be healthfull: yea, some in the extremitie of thirst dranke themselues to death, with the Cannes of Salt Water in their hands. Notwithstanding this extreme Searsitie, his noble Charitie caused equall distribution of the small store they had, as well to all his Prisoners as to his owne people.

“ By this time, the lamentable cryes of the sicke and hurt men for drinke, were heard in euery corner of the Shippe: for want whereof many perished, (ten or twelue every night,) more than otherwise had miscarried in the whole Voyage. The Storme continuing added to their misery; tearing the Shippe in such sort, as his Lordship's Cabbin, the dining Roome, and Halfe Decke became all one, and he was forced to seeke a new lodging in the Hold. His minde was yet vndaunted and present; his boldly presence and preuentions readie.

“ The last of Nouember hee spake with an English Shippe, which promised him the next morning two or three tunnes of Wine, but soone after vnfortunately came on ground. The next day hee had some supply of Beere, but not sufficient to enable him to vndertake for England. Hee therefore, the Winde seruing, put into *Ventre Hauen*, in the Westermost part of Ireland; where, hauing well refreshed, the 20th of December he set sayle for England.”

“ This honourable Sparke,” as *Purchas* styles the Earl, “ was further kindled and inflamed by former disasters,” and for his *fourth* Voyage obtained a new Ship of her Majesty called the GARLAND of 600 Tons, to which were added the SAMSON, his Lordship’s Ship, as Vice-Admiral, of 260 Tons; the *Golden Noble* as Rear-Admiral, and a small Pinnace called the *Discovery* : With these he set sail in 1591, for the Coast of Spain. The Earl’s *fifth* Voyage was in 1592, to take the outward bound Carracks, and then to steer for the West Indies; but finding the Wind unfavourable, after he left Plymouth, he gave up the chief Command to Capt. Norton, and returned to London. His *sixth* and *seventh* Voyages were in 1593; and on the sixth of April, 1594, the Earl at his own charge, assisted by some Adventurers, sent out for *Tercera* the ROYAL EXCHANGE, 250 Tons, as Admiral, Capt. *George Cave*; The *May Floure*, as Vice-Admiral, of the same burthen, Capt. *William*

Anthony; the *Samson*, as Rear-Admiral, *Capt. Nicholas Downton*; a Caruell, and small Pinnace. His *ninth Voyage* was, in 1595, in a Ship which he built at Deptford of 900 Tons, christened by the Queen herself, the SCOURGE OF MALICE; who recalled the Earl when he had got as far as Plymouth: "The best Shippe," adds *Purchas*, "that ever before had been built by any subject. Shee made his Lordship three Voyages, and after was sold to the East Indian Company. The Earl's *tenth* and *eleventh* Voyages were in 1596, and his *twelfth*, March 6, 1597, to *Puerto Rico*, is written by himself, and thus addressed to the Queen: "Worthiest of your Sexe, my chiefe Commandresse, to giue content to your wish in bare plainnesse, I haue set downe the courses *and fortunes of my late performed Journey." But a more full † account of this last Voyage is afterwards subjoined by the learned and Rev. Dr. *Layfield*. During their Passage from *Puerto Rico* to the Azores, the Earl and his whole Fleet had nearly been lost, in what *Purchas* calls "*A terrible Storme!*"

"On St. ‡ Bartholomewe's Eue wee had store of lightning and thunder, which besides the Obser-

* Page 1150.

† *Ibid.* Vol., page 1155—1176. The perusal of the whole of this Voyage is recommended to the curious reader. It admirably illustrates the Naval History of that remote Age, and contains some good descriptions of the West India Islands, particularly of *Puerto Rico*.

‡ Page 1174. § v.

uation, put vs more out of doubt of our neerer approach to the *Bermuda*. The next day about noone, wee began to steere East North East, and better. Vpon Friday, the 25 of August, wee were melted with a greater and more smothering Calme then any time before; and yet (which made it strangest) wee had out of the North-West higher Seas, then before that time I had euer scene, in the greatest Windes that wee had had. The hugeness of this Sea was perceiued not onely by the view of our sight, but rather by the extraordinarie heeling of our Shippe; certainly as much or more impatient of a high Sea in a Calme, as of any other Weather. This Calme was so extremely hot, that wee were in hope it would bee like other extreames, of no long continuance; but behold, it lasted obstinately thirteen dayes, sauing that sometimes there would be some shew of a Gale; but it would so instantly and frowardly leaue vs, as if it had beene come onely to let vs see wee needed not to despaire.

“ And now I come to *that, the remembrance whereof, rather then present apprehension, yet maketh me quake; like the Man that dyed vpon the fearfull knowledge of how great danger he had passed at *Rochester* Bridge. It was a fearfull Storme! which I truly, not knowing how dangerfull it was, feared not much while wee were in it: but since, hearing old Seamen, and of long experience speake of it, I perceiue it is good to be ignorant

* Page 1175 (10.)

sometime. Vpon Thursday the 7th of September, the Gale began to be very fresh, and to keepe the Sailes stiffe from the Masts, and so continued all that Day. Vpon Friday, it began to speake yet lowder, and to whistle a—good in the Shrowdes; insomuch that our Master made the *Drablers* bee taken off, and before night it had blowne the Fore-top-Saile in pieees by the board. This was taken for the beginning of a Storme, and the Storme itselfe was looked for; which eame indeed about the shutting in of the day, with such furie and rage, as none could say it stole upon vs vnawares. For I am out of doubt that I had neuer heard any Winde so high. One of our Bonnets had beene taken in, in the euening, and the other was sent off with the furie of the Storme: And thus, (for our Mayne-top-Saile was taken in, and the Top-Mast taken downe) bearing onely a bare corse of each; if the Shippe had not beene exceeding strong sided, shee could not haue indured so rough Weather: for oftentimes the Sea would ship in Waues into her of three or four tunne of Water; which (the Shippe being leakie within board) falling often, was as much as both the Pumps were able to east out againe; though they went continually all Night, and till Noone the next day were neuer throughly suckt: So that if any leake had sprung vpon vs vnder water, it could not have been chosen, but shee must have foundered; seeing the Pumpes were hardly able to rid the Water that was cast in aboue Hatches.

“ The Missen-Saile had beene in the Euening well furled, (for the Winde came vpon the starboard quarter,) and yet the Storme had caught it, and with such violence and furie rent it, that with much adoe the Missen-Yard was halled downe; and so the Quarter Decke and Poope saued from danger of renting vp.—All this was in the Night, which made it much more hidious; specially in the fore-end of the Night before the Moon got vp. The Winde continued in this excesse of violence ’till Midnight, and then abated hee something: but then began the effect of his blowing to shew itselfe, for then the Sea began to worke, and swell farre higher then before. His Lordship’s Shippe is a very goodly one, and yet would she bee as it were in a Pit, and round about vast Mountaines of water: so that a Man might leaue out the rest of the verse, and say onely, *undique Pontus!* For I protest, besides that which was ouer our heads, our prospect any other way was quickly determined with Waves, in my conscience, higher, then our Mayne-Top: And that which is strangest, round about vs; for the Sea came vpon euery point of the Compasse, so that the poore Shippe, nor they that directed and cunned her, could not tell how to cunne her to bee safe from the breaking of these vast Waues upon her. This continued all Night; and, tho’ the Winde fell by litle and litle, yet the Sea was so light, that all Saturday it was not quieted: so that, though out of

a Storme, yet were we still in a stormy Sea ; inso-much that our Mayne-top-Maste was broken. By Sunday we were come to haue reasonable Weather, and rather too little then too much Winde. And vpon Monday, being the 11th of September, wee were not much from a new Calme, which wee could not with much more patience have endured then a good Storme ; for then wee began to looke out for Land, and now to come so neere what so long wee had longed for. . .

With day, the fifteenth of September, we had the south-west Side of *it in sight, and bore in therewith till Noone. . . . They set forth from *Flores* September 16th, 1598 ; on Michaelmas Day they sounded, and the Ground on the fallow did still more assure vs of being in *The Sleeue* : and the Scollop Shells confirmed their Opinion, which held vs rather on the Coast of *France* ; by the Master and others judged otherwise : whose judgement, if his Lordship out of his judgement and authoritie had not contradicted, and caused them to take a more Northerly Course ; all had perished in all likelihood on the *Vshent*, and Rocks : for the next Morning we saw the Land of *Normandie*."

* The Island of Flores, one of the Azores, almost in the midway between the Coasts of Europe and America.

SECTION V.

Shipwreck of Monsieur Saugnier on the Western Coast of Africa.

IN narrating the early Voyages of the * Portuguese, and describing the perilous situation of *Zarco* and *Vaz*, who about the year 1418, being driven off the Coast near Cape Bojadore, were obliged for the first Time to stand out to Seaward, until they discovered the Island of *Puerto Santo*; I took occasion to illustrate the many dangers, which these early Navigators had to encounter on the Western Coast of Africa, by a reference to the Shipwrecks, which *Mons. Saugnier*, and *Brisson*, there experienced in 1784 and 1785. The † former of these is now presented to the attention of my reader.

Shipwreck of Monsieur Saugnier.

THE desire of recollecting my past Misfortunes, and the various situations into which the Circumstances of my Life led me, have made me take

* Progress of Maritime Discovery, Chap. xi, (page 153—156.)

† Published in an octavo Volume, by Robinson, 1792.—In some passages where the Translation is faulty, or has been rendered in too great haste, I have made a few alterations.

the Resolution of drawing up Memoirs of those Events.

I went on board the *Denx Amis*, *Mons. Lanaspeze*, Owner, Dec. 19th, 1783, then fitting out at *Bourdeaux* to carry Provisions and warlike Stores to *Senegal*. The Ship was Dutch built, and commanded by Captain *Carsin*. We were detained ten days in the River by contrary Winds. On our approach to *Cape Finisterre* we met with terrible Gales, which obliged us to lay-to for five successive days. On the Night of the 7th of January, 1784, the Captain, worn out with fatigue, and seeing that we steered our Course, and that the Weather was to be depended on, left the care of his Watch to his Lieutenant. This giddy Youth, who had as yet only served two Years on board the King's Ship, dazzled with the idea of commanding a Watch, let the Helmsman steer as he pleased. The Captain, awakened by a shock the Ship received, ran upon deck; saw where the mischief arose, and remedied it with admirable presence of mind. The Weather was still fine, every thing was repaired as well as circumstances would admit, and we continued our Course without any appearance of danger.

On the Night of the 14th, the Mate, who was the Owner's Son, taking the Lieutenant's Watch, perceived the Land. We were then, at the most, at three Leagues' distance, and were running for it

with the Wind abaft. One hour later, and not a Soul would have been saved! The lofty Mountains which presented themselves to our View, were taken by all the Crew for *Mogadore*, where there are none: Fatal Experience made us but too certain that they were those of *Wel de Non*.

This new fault of the Lieutenant, who took no notice of his seeing the Land, did not open the Captain's eyes to the danger we were exposed, by his entrusting that Officer with the care of the Watch. the Crew began to murmur; and several Sailors, no strangers to those Seas, said plainly that we were running on our ruin: As indeed it happened on the 17th of January, at four o'clock in the Morning, just after the Lieutenant's Watch had been relieved, without any one's having seen the Land. Every experienced Captain knows, that the Currents always set towards the Coast of Africa; that there are long Banks of Sand which run a great way out to Sea; that in the Morning and Evening it is difficult to distinguish them from the Water; that, in short, in many places it is impossible to see the Land at the distance of three Leagues. These reasons, and the build of the Ship; owing to which she necessarily made more Leeway than French Vessels should have; induced us to keep further out; especially as we had made the Land only two days before.

The terrible Shock occasioned by our striking on the Sand Bank, brought us all out of our Cabins. Nothing could be distinguished. Horrible cries were heard on every side: and the Sailors ran about the deck, without knowing whither. One seized an Hen Coop, and another the Rigging; while the Sea broke entirely over us. The darkness of the Night; the dreadful roaring of the Waves; our Officer's ignorance of the place where they had run the Ship aground; and death before our eyes; robbed us of our recollection, and drove us to despair.—Our Ship, however, being Dutch built, made but little Water; and it would have been easy to let go an anchor, to lighten, and to set her afloat: but nobody thought of so simple an expedient, which would have saved us.

We resigned ourselves to the will of the Supreme Being, and waited for Day without coming to any resolution. About half after five, the Ship beating on the Breakers, made much water, and the danger appeared more urgent. The Boatswain perceiving that she continued upright, and wishing to keep her in that position, cut away the Masts. We then laboured to lighten the Vessel, that she might drive nearer and nearer to the Shore. About seven o'clock the Captain put a stop to all work, that we might come to some kind of resolution. Nobody knew on what Coast we were thrown. Some as-

serted that we were ashore on one of the Canary Islands, and others on the Coast of Africa.

Bèing, however, recovered from our first Panic, our whole attention was turned to the safest means of reaching the Land, whatever it might be. We were more than a quarter of a league from it, nor could we distinguish any thing on Shore. This however did not prevent *M. Decham*, the Master's Mate; a Native of Bourdeaux, and only nineteen years old; from leaping into the Sea. He had tied the deep Sea Line round his waist, that it might serve to tow a thicker rope on Shore, which would have proved a great assistance: But the Rocks, among which this bold and intrepid young Man was obliged to swim, made him let go the line: so that his courage was of no use to us. Overcome with fatigue and cold, he sheltered himself from the Wind in a Cask, which the Sea had carried to the Beach: scarcely was he in it, when we saw an animal running along the Sea-side, which our fear transformed into a Tiger. It was a Dog, belonging to some Moors, who soon afterwards made their appearance.

These People are miserably poor, destitute of every thing, and live only upon what they can find, or steal. The Earth they inhabit not supplying their wants, they eagerly seize every thing that seems likely to satisfy them. They came running down in crowds to the Sea-side, and bellowing in

the most dreadful manner. On hearing their cries, the wretched *Decham* left his Cask; and throwing himself into the Sea, attempted to swim back to the Ship: but he was soon stopped by the Moors, who leaped in after him. They dragged him to the Beach, stripped him of his Shirt, and led him to the top of the Hill. We stretched out our arms towards them, standing all of us on the fore part of the Ship; and implored their mercy, as if they could hear us: our weak voices did not reach them, nor did they ever seem to pay attention to our gestures. By the help of our glasses we saw them make a hole in the Land, put the wretched *Decham* in it, and cover him entirely. Two *Men* guarded him, and the others returned to the Beach; part of whom leaped into the Sea, and swam towards the Vessel, while the rest were employed in picking up the fragments of the Casks we had thrown over-board. They then kindled them; ran to fetch *Decham*, carried him between four and exposed him to the Fire. Sometimes they suspended him by the feet, sometimes they held him transversely, and handed him from one to another. New Mountaineers coming down took the place of the first, who began to dance round the fire with horrid cries.—At this moment we gave him up for lost; our frightened imagination making us regard, as the height of inhumanity, what was no more than pity and sensibility in this people. Our Sailors, little

accustomed to a sight of this nature, fancied the Moors had killed and eaten him: several even affirmed that they had seen him torn to pieces. It was in vain we told them, that no Cannibals existed on those Coasts; nothing could make them change their idea. Neither the orders of the Officers, nor of the Captain himself, were any longer listened to: they imagined that the Savages would be bold enough to come on board; and our Men were determined to fight to the last extremity.

Finding that no reasons could prevail upon the Crew to lighten the Vessel, which the Waves drove toward the Coast; I went upon deck, offering money to any body that would take it. A bag of twelve hundred livres was emptied in a moment: although they were certain, that if they saved their lives, this money would be of no use, yet it served to draw them out of the Lethargy into which they had sunk: A part busied themselves again in lightening the Vessel, while others put the Arms in order. They were scarcely prepared, when the Captain ordered every body to leave off work; his design was to repair to the Beach in Parties, well armed: two Swivels loaded with langridge shot were put into the Barge. We hoisted it out by main strength; and four Sailors got into it fully resolved to make a desperate defence. We were persuaded, that these People seeing them armed, would not dare to attack them; we thought besides

that our Swivels were more than sufficient to keep them off: luckily however our project proved ineffectual. Our measures had been ill taken: the Barge overset; and our People were fortunate enough to get on board again, by the help of ropes we instantly threw out.

This Event did not make us abandon our idea: the Long Boat remained, and we resolved to make use of it to execute the same project. Striving with the greatest ardour to get over the side, we exhausted our strength, and were obliged to take some refreshment. It was this that saved us: reflection made us perceive the danger to which we should so wantonly expose ourselves. The idea of laying a Deck over our Long Boat next occurred, and we believed it to be easy in execution. Our Captain, who thought we had been cast away on *Cape Non*, hoped by this means to reach the *Canary Islands*; others said it would be easier to reach *Senegal*, on account of the Winds which prevail in those Latitudes: the latter opinion was the best, and was intended to have been followed. We set to work, but without success, being only able to nail on a few planks. After infinite pains in hoisting out the Boat, we moored it along side with stout ropes, for fear it should meet with the same fate as the Barge: we then put on board Provisions, Money, Arms, and our most valuable

Effects. But however wisely our measures were taken, we were once more disappointed.

The Sea ran so high that we were obliged to get out again. It was with great regret that we left our Long Boat. Soon after, one of the Ropes by which it was moored breaking, it dashed violently against the Ship's side. In spite of the danger, it was moored anew: but as it was all over leaks, and as it was impossible to hoist it in, we were reduced to the sad necessity of letting it go altogether. It was hardly upon the Beach when the Moors came down. They laid hands on every thing it contained; hauled it over the Sands by main strength, and set it on fire. This action appeared equally alarming with what they had done to our wretched Shipmate. Ignorant of their Laws and Customs, we only judged of their conduct by what our astonished imagination led us to believe: we did not know, that these people are bound to destroy whatever their habits of life render of no use.

Our Ship advanced but little, and suffered perceptibly from the Sea: she beat towards the middle, the Deck was loosened, and at every Wave that came, we thought she would have parted. On the other hand, the danger to which we thought ourselves exposed, even if we had the good fortune to reach the Shore, seemed still more terrible. Our spirits gave way to these reflections, and despon-

dency and consternation were pictured in every countenance.

The Cooper, a bold fellow, and an excellent Swimmer, soon recalled us from our sad reflections. *Shipmates*, said he to his brother Sailors, *we must perish here, or fall into the hands of those people: there is no other alternative; and my incertitude as to the fate that awaits me is more dreadful than death itself. I am going to swim on Shore: observe them well: If they do not kill me, I will make you a Signal; but at all events I shall have the consolation of dying before you.*—We were all astonished at his resolution, and nobody thought of opposing his intentions. He plunged into the Sea: more than twenty Moors swam to meet him, assisted him in getting to the Beach; stripped him of his Shirt; exposed him to the Fire, as they had *Decham*; danced round him; and at last conveyed him out of our sight, without any of us being able to decide whether they had saved his life.

The Captain, who to all appearance had still preserved his recollection, now lost all presence of mind: He believed he had seen the Cooper torn to pieces, and no longer thought of any thing but the readiest way to die. His design was to blow up the Ship; and several thousand weight of powder in the Magazine, rendered it of easy execution. He sent for us all upon Deck, and exhorted us to meet our Fate. Not wishing however to die with-

out revenge, he made preparations for firing upon the multitude that covered the Beach: and to draw them thither in greater numbers, and to be certain of doing greater execution, we threw every thing of most value into the Sea. But he was deceived in his expectations; for the Moors, informed by our two fellow-sufferers that we were Frenchmen, and remembering the loss they had met with at the Wreck of two Ships of the same Nation, suspected a part of the Plot. They accordingly retired from the Beach, without attending to the Objects the Sea carried thither; kindled great Fires upon the Top of the Hill, and gave way to all the Emotions of Joy, the sight of so rich a Prize excited in their Hearts. Frustrated in his hopes, and unwilling to fall alive into the hands of the Savages, the Captain again assembled the Crew, and exhorted them to blow up the Vessel. Although the Officers were of the contrary opinion, we should all have perished, but for the courage of *M. Bardon*, second Lieutenant of the African Battalion; with his drawn Sword, and seconded by the Officers, he threatened to cut down the first who should dare approach the Magazine.—What a strange contradiction is there in the minds of Men, especially when in danger! They all wanted to die, and yet there was not one bold enough to rush upon the sword of *M. Bardon*. The Crew retired to the fore part of the Ship; while I, with *M. Follie*, a Cabin Boy, and

a Landsman, watched over the conduct of the Captain, who seemed to have adopted our opinion. He thanked us for our resistance, and begged us to forgive the weakness of a moment. About Midnight he threw himself upon his bed; waked about two o'clock, came upon Deck, and was so alarmed at the fires and dances of the Moors, that he determined to put an end to his existence. He took care not to acquaint us with his intentions; laid down on his Bed, addressed a Prayer to Heaven, and inclining his head, discharged two Pistols into his mouth. We hastened to him, and thought him dead; but he had missed the vital parts. The Surgeon dressed his wounds; and the Captain was prevented from making any new attempt upon his Life. The horrid sight exhibited by his lacerated countenance, so far from discouraging the Crew, only served to confirm each of us in our design of escaping from the Wreck. Several, for fear the Moors should ascribe his wounds to us, proposed tying a Swivel round his waist, and throwing him into the Sea; but this barbarous advice was rejected.

As soon as the Day began to dawn, the Mate assembled all hands on Deck, and we were employed in making a Raft; but, warned by the last Evening's Experience, we resolved to wait for the ebb Tide.

About eleven o'clock the Moors, no longer perceiving any thing stir upon Deck, came swimming

off, with the intention of boarding the Vessel. Directed by their cries, we threw out Ropes to them, and took them on board : but without answering, or troubling themselves about our questions, they solely attended to Plunder ; the word *Morocco* ! being the only one we heard. Deprived of the assistance we expected from their arrival, and in haste to reach the Land, since they were growing more numerous than ourselves, we got the Raft into the Water about two o'clock : but only ten could be received upon it. The violence of the Surf washed off four, and *M. Bardon*, the Officer of the African Battalion, was drowned—such was the sad fate of him, who the Evening before had saved us all ! Two others, one of whom was *M. Follie*, were seasonably succoured by the Moors ; who jumped overboard, and carried them senseless to the Beach : the Mate, who was the fourth, returned to the Ship. The other six, among whom was the Captain, were scarcely ashore, when the Moors conducted them to an eminence where there was a little Fire ; and after having stripped them, left them there. No more than eleven now remained on board : we therefore began a new Raft with the greatest diligence ; got it soon ready, and though it was of little solidity, it afforded room for five persons : four saved themselves without meeting with any accident, and the fifth found assistance from a Moor, who was on his return with what he

had plundered from the Ship. Six of us were still left behind, without the possibility of making another Raft; the great number of Moors busied in plundering, rendering it impracticable. We therefore resolved to avail ourselves of the Bundles they were throwing into the Sea, to hold fast by them, and by these means to get ashore. I was the first to adventure, and the good success I met with encouraged the Sailors to follow my Example.

About six o'clock we were all assembled on the Hill, round a great Fire. The Moors left us there half an hour; and then having examined us, as is customary with Slaves, made us all get up, and conducted us about half a League into the Country: there they divided; one half returned-towards the Beach, and we were left the sad witnesses of the disputes of the rest to know to whom we should belong. Seeing them rush upon us with their Sabres drawn, we did not well know what to think. We were naked and unarmed: nor had we as yet seen our two Shipmates, who swam to the Shore on the preceding Evening. We all believed that the last moments of our Life were arrived, and instinctively took flight with the intention of preserving it a few minutes longer. A bloody Conflict ensued for the possession of our Persons, all of them attempting to detain us. Several of our Crew were desperately wounded; and I had the misfortune to be stopped by two Moors, almost at the same

instant. He who had touched me first, pretended I was his; but his adversary, too cruel to hear reason, endeavoured to settle the dispute by my Death: I parried the Stab he made at me, and had only two fingers hurt by the Poniard: this action cost my adversary his Life; for he was not quick enough in putting himself on his guard against my true Master; who, having like him his Dagger in his hand, laid him breathless at my feet. The Moor to whose lot I fell, then led me to his Brothers, his Wives, and his Slaves. The fire they applied to my Wound to stanch the Blood, stopped, at the same time, the progress of the Poison. Plants, dipped in Turtle Oil, were afterwards wrapped round my hand, and ere long I experienced the most perfect cure.

Let any one figure to himself the sad situation of a Man, who, having never been accustomed to travel, found himself suddenly stripped of his Clothes, dying of hunger, and surrounded by Barbarians whom he looked upon as his Executioners. The Stones brought to support the Fire; the Faggots, and the fragments of Casks piled up near the spot where I was detained; seemed so many instruments of Torments reserved for me. In this persuasion I recommended my Soul to God; and, when my Prayer was over, waited quietly for Death. The Danees, and the cruel Joy of the Women who surrounded me, and plucked out my Hair; all con-

firmed me in my opinion.—It was at length dispelled! I beheld them take Pleasure in seeing me drink the Milk, that was offered me about ten o'clock in the Evening. However, I passed a most miserable Night, a prey to a thousand heart-breaking reflections; stretched out naked upon the Sand, and exposed to all the inclemency of the Air.

The *Mongearts*, or Arabs of the *Zaara*, were the only ones, who happened to be on the Sea Side at the time we were wrecked; but they did not enjoy the whole of our Spoils: they were obliged to share them with the Moors at *Bilidulgerid*, a warlike and well-armed Nation, known in the Country by the appellation of *Monselemine*s. It was to an Arab of this latter Nation I belonged. The following day our Masters permitted us to assemble upon the Beach. Such of our Party as belonged to the *Mongearts*, had been treated with the utmost humanity; and, as I conjectured, because they were accustomed to see Europeans in the River of *Senegal*, and at *Portendie*: as for those who belonged to the *Monselemine*s, they were all naked, like myself, nor had they been better received: This Idea made me form the project of escaping: and the little attention that was paid me, induced me about nine in the Morning to make for the Interior of the Country.

I had hardly proceeded half a league, when I was met by a Party of Moors; who made me quicken

my pace, and conducted me to their Tents, where I saw an abundance of Goats and Camels. They gave me Milk, and covered me with several Goat Skins sewed together. Although I was much fatigued, and had passed two Nights without sleep, it was in vain to think of repose. I was obliged to walk all day: towards Night we stopped; and I passed it most peacefully, although exposed to the inclemency of the Night Air. Scarcely was the Sun risen, when the Camels were again ready for the Route. A Moor made me get up behind him, and I continued to travel in this way without knowing whither I was going; having left all the rest of the Crew by the Sea Side. About three o'clock I arrived at other Tents, where I rested from my former Fatigue. I staid there, however, only two days; on the third, three naked but well armed *Arabs* dragged me away in a southern direction. We had crossed several Rivers, when, after a march of sixteen days, they halted without daring to conduct me further: Their intention was to sell me to the Ships that came to *Senegal* to buy Gum; but the War which then raged between the Princes of those Cantons, hindered them from executing their designs. On the first day my Footsteps were marked by my Blood: but the *Arabs* having drawn out the Thorns, scraped the soles of my feet with their Daggers, and plaistered them over with Tar and Sand, I walked on without pain, or difficulty.

We passed three days in a Forest of Gum Trees. The utter impossibility of their selling me at *Senegal*, obliged them to return by the way they came; and after thirty days walking backwards and forwards, I arrived at my Master's Tent. In the Desert very excellent Land is to be met with; which, if cultivated, would doubtless produce all the necessaries of Life. We found there an abundance of Truffles, which I ate with an high relish; the Moors, often procuring them for me: being accustomed to live on Milk, they contented themselves with that of our Camels, and cheerfully denied themselves those Roots on my account. I had no complaint to make of my Conductors; they treated me with Humanity, and, as far as lay in their power, procured me what seemed to please me the most. I was so sincerely attached to them, that it was not without regret I saw them depart the Day after our arrival; nor did I ever behold them again: During the Journey, when we stopped in the Evening, they went themselves in quest of Wood for the Night, and left me to take care of the Camels and Baggage. Very often, when they perceived I was too much fatigued, they halted two or three hours before the setting of the Sun.

I passed two Days without being called to do any Work; on the third day they sent me to fetch Wood for the Tent: for this purpose an old Cord was given me, and a Child accompanied me to point out

the proper sort. Although the whole Country is covered with Bushes, these People are most careful to preserve them, never touching a green Stick. It very often took me two whole Hours to seek for dead Wood.—I passed the whole Day without any thing to cover me; and my naked shoulders lacerated by my Burden, used to run down with Blood. My Master having met with an opportunity of disposing of me, I saw a Barrel of Meal, and an Iron Bar about nine feet long, given in exchange for my Person. The following Day, as soon as the Sun arose, we set off, and walked for nine successive Days. When we halted, I was obliged, like the Negro-Slaves, to go and fetch Wood, to keep us warm during the Night, and to protect us from the Serpents and wild Beasts that over-run the Country. A little Barley Meal mixed up with brackish Water was then given me, and was my only Food when we met with no Tents on our journey. Scarcely was I arrived among the Moors in rebellion against the King of Morocco, when I was again sold. My new Master gave me no rest, sending me the very next Day to keep his Camels: I passed Day after Day in the midst of the Mountains, entirely abandoned to my own Reflections, and totally ignorant of the Fate of my Companions in Misfortune. My strength perceptibly diminished, and every Time I changed my Master, I found myself worse treated.

I was sold again, my health being already im-

paired; and was conducted by my new Master to his Tent, where I did not remain long. Poorer than the generality in that Country, he carried me to a neighbouring Market, to endeavour to make some profit by me. He there met with an *Arab*, who bought me for two Camels, and sold me at Market the Day after: he went away highly satisfied, since he gave me about two pounds of Dates, and a small piece of Silver Money, which I have kept to this Day.—Throughout the *Saara* Trade is only carried on by Barter: it was in this Place that I saw Money for the first Time: the sight of it revived my hopes, for I thought with reason that I was not far from a civilized State; I conceived the hope of sending information of my wretched state to my Family, and this Idea made me support my Sufferings with Fortitude.

We began our Journey in the dusk of the Evening, and took our way towards *Cape Non*. Four Arabs, who were at the Market while the Moor was buying me, lay in wait for us when the Night was coming on. They were only armed with their Daggers; and as my Master knew them, he had no distrust of their intentions. Seeing one of them in the act of stabbing him, I cried out! my Master avoided the blow, and shot his Adversary dead: the others immediately attacked him. I ran to his assistance; and with the help of my Stick stretched one of them at his Feet. As he stabbed him instantly,

the two others fled. We took nothing but the Daggers of the two that were killed, and continued our Journey. Instead of selling me, as was his intention, he turned me over to his Brother, one of the richest individuals in the Country. That Moment was the end of my Sufferings: I was obeyed by the Negro Slaves; I had no longer any Work to do; and if I went out with the Cattle it was for my own Amusement. The Arabs of his horde looked upon me rather as their Countryman than as a Slave; often entertained me with Sham Fights, and let me join in their Nocturnal Dances.

The friendship they entertained for me, made them come to the resolution of conducting me to *Hali Laze*, the Chief of *Glimi*; that I might be conveyed, as soon as possible, to the Country subject to the dominion of the Emperor of *Morocco*. I remained eight Days at his House without belonging to him; at length, however, he bought me for an hundred and fifty Dollars. *Hali Laze* had an House, which in that Country might well pass for a Palace: he had been formerly at *Paris* in the suite of an Ambassador of *Morocco*. Discontent, and a wish to save his head, had forced him to take the command of the Moors in rebellion against the Emperor. He treated me well; exacted no labour from me, and gave me Clothes. I was now sheltered from the inclemency of the Air, and had Straw given me, of which I made a kind of Bed. I had

food in abundance.—From the * Moment I left the Wreck, until my arrival at *Glimi*, the principal city of *Cape Non*, I was ignorant of the Fate of the rest of the Crew. *M. Lanaspere*, our Mate, was in the same place, but left free from all constraint by his Masters. As soon as he heard of my arrival he came to see me, and found me in the outward Court Yard. He looked like a walking Spectre. At first I did not recollect him, nor did he remember me. Our words died away upon our Lips; but the Tears that trickled down our Cheeks expressed the warmth of our Sentiments: We passed the whole Day together, and related our sufferings to each other. As he told me that *M. Follie*, a Native of Paris, and Officer of administration in the Colonies, was in the same Town with us, I set off immediately, accompanied by himself and several Moors, and repaired to the place where he was detained. *M. Follie* belonged to a cruel Moor, who treated him with the greatest barbarity: he slept upon the hard ground, and was denied the smallest Liberty. Little accustomed to fatigue, he was covered with Sores, the consequence of the blows given him by the Moors to force him to walk beyond his strength.

I learned from my fellow Slaves, that they had

* Here I have made some deviation from the form of the original Narrative, in order to render the Events more clear and connected.

all been uneasy as to my Fate; that several Persons insisted they had seen me killed; that this general persuasion of the Crew had induced them to acquaint the French Consul with my Death; that they had as yet no information respecting those who had followed their Masters to the *South of Africa*; that as to themselves they had met with horrible treatment; that they had been forced by hard blows to unload the Ship; that they had been obliged to grind Corn, fetch Wood, and tend Cattle; and that they were cruelly beaten for the smallest fault, without even knowing they had done amiss. The Wounds with which they were covered, but too well confirmed the truth of their recital. While they congratulated me on having escaped such rigorous treatment, they told me that the Moors, after fighting to know who should be our Masters, had at length set fire to the Wreck; that several Arabs had been killed by splinters from the Ship; whence they had not taken out the Powder; that many of our people had been wounded; and that the Captain, after having lived twelve Days with no sustenance but a little Brandy, had been knocked on the Head upon the Beach. Perhaps the report of his Fate was as ill-founded as that of mine, for *M. Follic* was the only one of all the Crew who certified his Death, nobody else knowing any thing of the matter.

The French, and English Merchants, settled at

Mogadore, informed of our misfortune by the different Brokers, their Commeree obliged them to disperse about the Country, and sending to make proposals for our Liberty; *Bentahar*, a Moor, who lodged at my Master's, bought me for an hundred and eighty dollars. This Man got together at the same time five of my Companions, namely, *M. Folie*, whom he purchased for two hundred and fifty dollars. *M. Decham*, Master's Mate, a native of Bourdeaux, and the first who got ashore, cost him ninety-five dollars. The Boatswain, and two Sailors, were sold for only eighty-five or ninety each. There was in the same Place a Sailor of *Provence*, belonging to our Ship, who was claimed by no Master. He lived sometimes with one, sometimes with another; nobody giving him the least molestation. *Bentahar* was in hopes he would set off with us, and thought he should have him without a Ransom: but the very day of our departure he was removed up the Country, without our knowing what became of him. He lost his liberty by his own fault, in keeping for ever with the Moors. *M. Lanaspeze* not being able to set off with us, gave me, at the moment of our departure, nine Louis d'Ors in gold, his Watch Chain, and a Seal of the same Metal, which he had the good fortune to conceal from the observation of his Masters.

Six of us being got together, by the care of *Bentahar*, we set off for *Mogadore*, transported with

joy. The dread of being surprised by the wandering Arabs, who would have carried us off anew, and dragged us to the Mountains, obliged our Conductor to travel by Night. At about half a league from *Glimi*, we crossed a small Stream of very clear Water; and, leaving the Road that seemed much frequented, we repaired to a large House on the Plain, whence we proceeded by Night to a very thick Forest. The next day we went to the House of some Jews, situated on an Hill, and thence entered Defiles running parallel to the Sea: this Day's Journey was very severe, on account of the bad Roads, obstructed by Woods and Mountains. At about eight Leagues from *St. Croix* we forded a small River; and found hard by an old House built in the French manner, now abandoned. At half a League, at most, from this House, exist the Ruins of a Town, the name of which we could not learn: but its situation and extent prove that it was once a considerable Place. Thence we descended to well cultivated Plains that led us to the Sea Side; and then on Camels crossed the River that waters the walls of *St. Croix*. We slept near a Fountain, the work of the *Portuguese*, who were once in possession of the Country; thence we continued our Journey without accident, notwithstanding the difficulty of Roads cut through the Rocks, and the Precipices and Forests of the *Atlas* Mountains; the Chain of which begins at *St. Croix de Barbarie*.

The English Merchants, to whom we were addressed, gave us a very good reception, and conducted us to the French House of Messrs. *Cabanes* and *Depras*. We found on our arrival there the most satisfactory Letters from *M. Mure*, the French Vice Consul residing at *Sallee*.

The Governor of *Mogadore*, informed of our arrival, sent for us to his House. He is a man of a mild and affable disposition; can neither write nor read, and owes his elevation to the signal marks of Bravery he displayed in the presence of the Emperor. He had our names taken down by the *Talbes*, or Mahometan Priests, and sent off a Courier immediately to inform the Emperor of our arrival. That Prince, on hearing the News, fell into a dreadful fit of rage. Two Months before, he had given the most positive Orders to the Governors of the Provinces in the vicinity of the Desert, to use their utmost Endeavours to extricate us from the hands of the wandering Arabs. Jealous of his authority, he thought this affair an attack upon it; nor could he bear the idea of Christians being more readily obeyed in his own Dominions, than himself. He broke out into Threats, condemned to Death the Arab whom the English had sent to our assistance, wrote to the Merchants in the severest terms; threatening to burn alive the first Person who, from that time, should dare to interfere in the redemption of a Captive: The Captains

of all the Ships in the Road were forbid to receive us : a strict Watch was kept, nor were we suffered to go to any Distance from the City.—*Bentahar*, having received timely information of the Emperor's designs, and of the Sentence of Death pronounced against him, saved his Life, and his Fortune, by an hasty retreat to the people who had kept us in Slavery. A few Presents, dexterously administered to the favourite Sultanas, soon dispelled the Anger of the Prince ; but he was determined to have us in his power : in consequence of which, the Governor of *Mogadore*, on the 15th of May, sent for us to the Public Square : there, by Order of his Master, he repaid the French Merchants the Money they had advanced for our Deliverance ; and told them that the Emperor pardoned them, as well as the Arab.

We were free but an instant before, and we now saw ourselves again reduced to Slavery : we were not however required to work. It was then that we obtained our first French Drésses. On the 15th of June, about ten in the Morning, we received Orders to set off for *Morocco* : a numerous Caravan, serving as an Escort to the Royal Treasure arising from the Customs paid by foreign Ships that put in at *Mogadore*, insured the safety of our arrival. The French, and English Merchants, were the only Persons that came to take leave of us ; they left us with tears standing in their eyes, and

promised us all the assistance in their power, in case we should not be able to obtain our freedom from the Emperor.

The Journey from *Mogadore* to *Morocco* was not laborious : in quality of the Emperor's Slaves a Mule was given to each of us, not without great displeasure on the part of the Moors to whom they belonged. We arrived at *Morocco* on the 20th of June, about two o'clock ; much fatigued by the heat, which had killed three Jews and four Camels. The *Alcaide* wished, on our arrival, to conduct us to the Emperor ; but that Prince had marched in the Morning, at the head of twelve thousand Men to punish the Rebels, who had taken refuge on *Mount Atlas*. On the 28th of June we had the happiness of appearing in his presence. He spoke to us with a kindness we little expected, questioned us concerning the Names of the Places, in which we had been separated from our Companions in Misfortune, and about those of the Masters to whom they belonged ; and promised to send us in a short time to *France*.

At *Morocco* we found a Landsman of the Crew, who had been taken by the wandering Arabs for a Man of a distinguished Family. We remained there eight Days, all the Inhabitants showing us the greatest marks of Kindness. Being the Emperor's Slaves, our Persons were held sacred by the Moors ;

and accordingly we saw, without difficulty, every Object of Curiosity in the Capital. On the 15th of July we appeared again before the Emperor, who gave us our Liberty. Perhaps we might owe our deliverance to Gratitude; for news had just been brought to *Morocco*, that two hundred Moors had been assisted by a Vessel from *Marseilles*, after having tried all the Italian and Mahometan Ports in vain: that the assistance of which they stood in need, had been every where refused them; that they would have died of want but for the *Marseilles* Ship; and that they were then performing Quarantine in that Port, whence they would sail on the first favourable moment to their own Country.

The Emperor having ordered us a Gratification of three Dollars each, we left *Morocco* on the fifteenth, well mounted; and with an Escort of eight hundred Foot, and two hundred Horse. We passed through the greater part of the Cities of *Barbary*, our little Army being every where augmented by fresh reinforcements. In every Town we were received with Honour; the Inhabitants of *Azimor* in particular distinguishing themselves. We found in that Town a *Marseilles* Captain, who had turned Renegado to escape the infliction of five hundred Blows, to which he was sentenced for having been shipwrecked near the Place. This Law is the Emperor's; that Prince pretending that

it is impossible for a Ship to run ashore on his Coast, unless it be done on purpose. The Captains alone, who are on their way to Barbary, are exempt from this Punishment.

The Escort which conducted us to **Rabate*, where the French Consul and the Governor reside, having levied fresh Troops, went to the Attack of *Oran*; and we continued our Journey on the 25th of July with new Guides. We arrived at *Tangier* on the 31st; and were much better received by the Spanish Consul to whom we were addressed, than by the Monks of the Mission: he communicated the Emperor's Orders to the Governor of the Place, who facilitated the means of our embarking for *Cadiz*. The Master of a Spanish Bark, who was come to *Tangier* to purchase Poultry and Corn, set sail about seven in the Evening, and about eight in the Morning we arrived at *Cadiz*. We hoisted our Flag; the Physicians came on board to visit us, and sent us to perform Quarantine on board the Lazaretto, at two Leagues' Distance from the Town: we were three Days in this Hulk, without being able to set a foot on Shore. At length we disembarked, and were placed in a kind of Barn, in which we could only boast of being shel-

* *Rabate*, and *Sallee*, are two Towns separated by the River, and usually confounded with each other. *Sallee* is a King's Port.

tered from the Rain. On the 11th of August the Physicians gave us a Bill of Health. *M. Boirel* the French Vice Consul supplied the most urgent of our Wants, and busied himself in procuring us the most speedy return to our Native Places.

On the 28th of August, I embarked on board the *St. Francois de Sales*, of about 200 tons Burthen, commanded by Captain *Sénécal* of *Dunkirk*. Our Passage was long and dangerous, and while it lasted I suffered considerably; having very little Linen, and being obliged to sleep on Sails and Cables, between Decks. At length we arrived at *Ostend*, on the 11th of October, after having been five Days beating off the Harbour. On the twelfth the Captain conducted me to *Dunkirk*; and after being obliged to make some stay at *Lisle*, for want of strength, I arrived at *St. Quentin*, the 21st of October, 1784.

Restored again to my Family, I thought to have enjoyed some Consolation, but I was cruelly disappointed. I discovered with great pain, that my Relations gave no credit to the Story of my Sufferings: Some of them told me, that as I had brought them upon myself, they were nothing more than what I deserved. My Mother, far from being in easy circumstances, was the only one of my Relations who felt for my Distress. In this trying situation, with only the Coat I had on my back, I

determined upon returning to Paris, and engaging myself in my original Line of Business, however painful the Task. I did not repine at my Fate: for, *by comparing the Situation I had lately experienced, with that in which I now found myself, I considered the latter as a State of Happiness.*

CHAPTER III.

NORTH ATLANTIC.

SECTION I.

- I. A Shipwreck the origin of Lord Duncan's Crest*
II. Providential Escape of some Scotch Seamen, and of a Sailor who had been cast away on the Ice—III. Sir Humfrey Gilbert's Shipwreck in 1583, from Hakluyt.

I. AMONGST the many narratives of Shipwrecks that have been overwhelmed by the wave of Time ; one, I fear, may be reckoned, of singular curiosity, whence the Crest originated which was borne over the Coronet of the late *Admiral Lord Viscount Duncan*. His Family was originally styled *Duncan of Sea Side*, in consequence of the following heraldic tradition, which is well authenticated.--About two hundred Years ago, one of his Lordship's Ancestors being Super-cargo on board a Vessel bound from *Norway*, to his native Place *Dundee*, was overtaken by a tremendous Gale ; which reduced the Ship to the last extremity, and its Crew to the greatest distress. Contrary to all human Expecta-

tion, they were providentially enabled to navigate their crazy Vessel into Port: when the Parents of the Son, who was thus rescued from a Watery Grave, and had been considered as lost, immediately adopted his shattered Vessel as their Crest. This dismasted Ship is now rendered still more celebrated, by being placed over the arms that were gained off **Camperdown*.

And this reminds me of a providential Escape, which some *Orkney* Seamen experienced during the Year 1773:—"The Ferry Boat, which plied from the *Orkneys* across the *Pentland Frith* in Scotland, in her Passage from *Caithness* lost her Course; owing to thick Weather, a strong ebb Tide, and an heavy Gale from the South East. The Crew did not for some Time perceive their mistake: but, after an Hour, not making the opposite Shore, they began to be very uneasy. The Fog still continuing, and the Gale increasing, they were obliged to put before the Wind, and were driven into the North Sea; which ran so very high, that it was with the greatest difficulty they could keep their small Craft from being upset.—Such was their melancholy condition for two Days: when happily on the third, they were discovered by a *Jagar* coming from Iceland with Fish. By this time the Wind had abated, and the Weather became clear. The *Jagar* was commanded by Cap-

* Naval Chronicle, Vol. iv, pages 81, 113.

tain *Peter Pakvis*, belonging to the *Maasculice* in Holland, who took the Men on board, put them into warm Beds, and treated them with every degree of Care and Humanity. He also hoisted in their Boat, and three Days afterwards landed them on the South part of *Shetland*; furnishing them with Money, Tobacco, and Provisions sufficient to carry them to their own homes. It appears by a Certificate which this humane Dutchman sent with them, that they had driven 55 leagues from *Orkney*, and 16 leagues W. S. W. from the *Faro Islands*.—This Boat's Crew consisted of six Men, without any nourishment, not even Water; without a Compass, or even the least knowledge of Navigation. So that their Deliverance was providentially effected by the only means, which in all human possibility could have occurred."

II. But since, Reader, we have now glanced on the NORTH SEA, previous to a more perilous and extended Excursion on the *Atlantic*; allow me to relate the following miraculous Preservation of a Seaman, which occurred whilst His Majesty's Ship the *JUPITER*, Commodore *J. W. Payne*, was waiting off *Cuxhaven*, for the Princess Caroline of Brunswick. Being myself on board, I can vouch for its accuracy.

On the 9th of March, 1795, the severe Weather we had endured became more moderate; and during the Day, a poor Seaman was taken from off a piece

of Ice that had floated out to Sea, by one of the *Blackness* Pilot Boats. Being brought on Shore at *Cuxhaven*, he gave the following account of his sufferings.—He had belonged to an *Hambro* Trader, laden with Groceries, bound from *London* to the above place. During the Passage his Vessel was lost (January 28th) amidst the Ice, on a Sand Bank off *Cuxhaven*. The Master, with a Boy, and this Sailor, got upon the Sand, at that time covered with Ice; and preserved Life with some Wine and Biscuit, which they had saved from the Wreck. At the end of eleven Days, the Master and Boy died. The Survivor, with an unshaken resolution, and reliance on Divine Providence, would not allow himself to despond. Every Night he reposed upon one of the dead Bodies of his Shipmates, and put the other Corpse over him; the intense cold kept them from being offensive. In this forlorn and melancholy State he slept sound; and declared, that he constantly received great consolation from Dreams, which invariably promised his deliverance.

The Wine, and Biscuit, being at length consumed, he discovered some Cockles on a part of the Sand not covered with Ice, upon which he existed until the ninth of March; when Providence sent him the following relief. In the Morning, when he awoke, to his utter dismay he found the mass of Ice on which he had so long sojourned, was separated from the rest, and drifting out to Sea! His anguish cannot be described. When lo! the very mean,

by which he appeared hurried on to destruction, eventually caused his deliverance. He was thus carried within sight of the *Blackeness* fishing Boats, who immediately hastened to his Succour.

On his first landing at *Cuxhaven*, the warmth of the House, in which he was received, created an agony of Pain; and it was some time before the above Facts could be detailed. Nor did his Narrative gain credit from many, before he had produced the Bills of Lading, and had reminded them of a Vessel answering the description he gave of his own, which they knew had been wrecked.



III. *Shipwreck, taken from Hakluyt's Report of the Voyage, and Successes thereof, attempted in the Yeere of our Lord 1583, by Sir Humfrey Gilbert, Knight, with other Gentlemen assisting him in that action; intended to discover and to plant Christian Inhabitants in place convenient, upon those large and ample Countreys extended Northward from the Cape of Florida, lying under very temperate Climes, esteemed fertile and rich in Minerals; yet not in actual possession of any Christian Prince. Written by Master Edward Haies, Gentleman, and principall Actour in the same Voyage; who alone continued unto the end, and by God's*

speciall assistance returned home with his Retinue safe and entire.

Many Voyages haue bene pretended, yet hitherto neuer any thorowly accomplished by our Nation, of exact discouery into the bowels of those maine, ample, and vast Countreys, extended infinitely into the North, from 30 Degrees, or rather from 25 Degrees of septentrionall latitude; neither hath a right way bene taken of planting a Christian Habitation and Regiment vpon the same. . . But most assuredly the only Cause, of Religion, hitherto hath kept backe, and will also bring forward at the time assigned by God, an effectuall and compleat discouery and possession by Christians, both of those ample Countreys and the Riches within them hitherto concealed: whereof, notwithstanding God in his Wisdome hath permitted to be reuealed, from time to time, a certaine obscure and misty Knowledge, by little and little to allure the mindes of Men that way, (which els will be dull enough in the zeale of his Cause,) and thereby to prepare vs vnto a readinesse for the execution of his Will, against the due Time ordained, of calling those Pagans vnto Christianity. In the meane while, it behooueth euery Man of great calling, in whom is any instinct of Inclination vnto this attempt, to examine his owne Motions: which, if the same proceed of Ambition or Auarice, he may assure himselfe it commeth not of God, and therefore

cannot haue confidence of God's protection, and assistanee, against the violence (else irresistible) both of the Sea, and infinite perils vpon the Land; whom God yet may vse an instrument to further his Cause and Glory some way, but not to build vpon so bad a * foundation.

These Considerations may helpe to suppress all Dreads rising of hard Euent, in attempts made this way by other Nations, as also of the heauy Successes; and Issue, in the late Enterprise made by a worthy Gentleman, our Countryman, *Sir Humfrey Gilbert* Knight; who was the first of our Nation, that carried People to erect an Habitation, and Government in those northerly Countreys of *America*. About which, albeit he had consumed much Substance, and lost his Life at last, his People also perishing for the most part; yet the mystery thereof we must leaue vnto God, and judge charitably both of the Cause (which was just in all pretence,) and of the Person, who was very zealous in prosecuting the same; deseruing honourable remembrance for his good Minde, and Expense of Life, in so vertuous an Enterprise: whereby, neuerthesse, least any Man should be dismayd by example of other Folks ealamity, and misdeeme that God doth resist all attempts intended that way; I thought good, so

* These reflections, which I have considerably abridged, form an admirable answer to those Casuists, who are doubtful of any benefits, that can arise from the Discoveries, made under the auspices of his present Majesty.

farre as myselfe was an eye Witnessse, to deliver the circumstance and maner of our Proccedings in that Action: in which the Gentleman was so unfortunately incumbred with Wants, and woorse matched with many ill disposed Peopple, that his rare iudgement and regiment premeditated for those affaires; was subiected to tolerate Abuses, and in sundry Extremities to holde on a Course, more to vpholde credit, then likely in his owne conceit happily to succeed. And with this Admonition denounced vpon Zeale towards God's Cause; also towards those, in whom appeareth disposition honourable, vnto this action of planting Christian People, and Religion, in those remote and barbarous nations of *America* (vnto whom I wish all happinesse,) I will now proceed to make Relation briefly, yet particularly, of our Voyage vndertaken with *Sir Humfrey Gilbert*, begun, continued, and ended aduersly.

When first *Sir Humfrey Gilbert* vndertooke the western discovery of *America*, and had procured from * Her Majesty, a very large Commission to inhabit, and possesse at his choicc, all remote and heathen Lands, not in the actuall possession of any Christian Prince; the same Commission exemplified with many privileges such as in his discretion he might demand; very many Gentlemen of good Estimation drew vnto him, to associate him in so com-

* Hakluyt, Vol. iii, page 135.

مندable an Enterprise; so that the preparation was expected to grow vnto a puissant Fleet, able to encounter a Kings power by Sea: neuertheless, amongst a multitude of voluntary Men, their dispositions were diuers, which bred a Jarre, and made a diuision in the end, to the confusion of that attempt, euen before the same was begun. And when the Shipping was in a maner prepared, and Men ready vpon the Coast to go aboard; at that time some brake consort, and followed Courses degenerating from the Voyage before pretended. Others failed of their promises contracted, and the greater number were dispersed; leaving the Generall with few of his assured Friends, with whom he adventured to Sea; where hauing fasted of no lesse Misfortune, he was shortly driven to retire Home with the losse of a tall Shippe, and (more to his grief) of a valiant Gentleman *Miles Morgan*.

Hauing buried, onely in a Preparation, a great masse of Substance, whereby his Estate was impaired; his Minde yet not dismaid, he continued his former designment and purpose to reuiue this Enterprise, good occasion seruing. Upon which determination standing long, without meanes to satisfy his desire; at last he granted certaine Assignments out of his Commission, to sundry persons of meane ability; desiring the Privilege of his Grant, to plant and fortifie in the North Parts of *America*, about the River of *Canada*. *Sir Humfrey Gilbert* desiring greatly their expedition, because his Com-

mission did expire after six Yeres, if in that space he had not gotten actuall Possession. Time went away without any thing done by his Assignes: insomuch that at last, he must resolue himselfe to take a Voyage in person, for more assurance to keepe his Patent in force, which then almost was expired, or within two Yeres.

In furtherance of his Determination, amongst others, *Sir George Peckam*, Knight, shewed himselfe very zealous to the action; greatly aiding him both by his Advice, and in the Charge. Other Gentlemen to their ability joyned vnto him, resolving to adventure their substance and liues in the same Cause. The last Place of our assembly, before we left the Coast of England, was in *Causey Bay* neere vnto *Plimmouth*: then resolved to put vnto the Sea with Shipping and Provision, such as we had; before our Store yet remaining, but chiefly the time and season of the Yeere, were too farre spent. Neuerthelesse, it seemed first very doubtfull by what way to shape our Course, and to begin our intended Discouery; either from the South, Northward, or from the North, Southward. . . We were the rather induced to follow this Northerly Course, obeying vnto Necessity, which must be supplied. Otherwise, we doubted that sudden approach of Winter, bringing with it continuall Fogge, and thicke Mists, Tempest and Rage of Weather; also contrariety of Currents descending from the Cape of *Florida*, vnto Cape

Briton, and *Cape Rase*, would fall out to be great and irresistible impediments. Wherefore suppressing all obiections to the contrary, wee resolved to begin our Course Northward, and to follow directly as wee might, the Trade Way vnto *Newfoundland*: from whence, after our refreshing and reparation of Wants, wee intended without delay (by God's permission) to proceed into the South, not omitting any Riuer or Bay, which in all that large Tract of Land appeared, to our view, worthy of search.

Orders * thus determined, and promises mutually giuen to be obserued, euery Man withdrew himself vnto his Charge. The ankers being already weyed, and our Shippes under Saile, having a soft Gale of Winde, wee beganne our Voyage vpon Tuesday the 11th Day of June, in the yere of our Lord 1583: hauing in our Fleet (at our departure from *Causon Bay*), these Shippes, whose names and burthens, with the names of the Captaines and Masters of them, I haue also inserted, as followeth:

1. THE DELIGHT, *alias* THE GEORGE, of burthen 120 tunnes, was Admirall: in which went the Generall (*Sir H. Gilbert*), and *William Winter* Captaine in her, and part Owner; and *Richard Clearke* Master.

2. The Bark RALEIGH, set forth by *Master*

* Hakluyt, Vol. iii, p. 14.

Walter Raleigh, of the burthen of 200 tunnes, was then Viz Admirall; in which went *Master Butler* Captaine, and *Robert Davis* of Bristoll Master.

3. THE GOLDEN HINDE, of burthen 40 tunnes, was then Reare Admirall; in which went *Edward Hayes* Captaine and Owner, and *William Cox* of Limehouse Master.

4. THE SWALLOW, of burthen 40 tunnes; in her was Captaine *Maurice Browne*.

5. THE SQUIRRILL, of burthen ten tunnes; in which went Captaine *William Andrewes*, and one *Cuide* Master.

We were in number in all, about two hundred and sixty Men; among whom wee had of euery Faculty good choice, as Shipwrights, Masons, Carpenters, Smithes, and such like, requisit to such an action: also minerall Men, and Refiners. Besides, for solace of our People, and allurement of the Sanages, wee were prouided of Musike in good variety: not omitting the least Toyes, as Morris Dancers, Hobby Horse, and Maylike conceits to delight the Sauage People, whom wee intended to winne by all faire meanes possible; and to that end, wee were indifferently furnished of all petty Haberdashrie Wares to barter with those simple people. In this maner wee set forward; the Weather and Winde faire and good all Day, but a great Storme of Thunder, and Winde, fell the same Night.

Thursday following, June 13, when wee hailed one another in the Euening, according to the order, they signified vnto us out of the Viz Admirall, that both the Captaine, and very many of the Men were fallen sicke: And about Midnight the Viz Admirall forsooke us, notwithstanding wee had the Winde East, faire and good. But it was after credibly reported, that they were infected with a contagious Sicknesse, and arriued greatly distressed at *Plimmoth*. The reason I could neuer vnderstand. Sure I am, no Cost was spared by their Owner, *Master Raleigh*, in setting them forth: Therefore I leaue it vnto God.

By this time wee were in forty-eight degrees of Latitude, not a little griued with the losse of the most puissant Shippe in our Fleete; after whose departure, the *GOLDEN HINDE* succeeded in the place of Viz Admirall, and remooued her Flagge from the Mizon vnto the Foretop. From Saturday the 15th of June, vntill the 28th, wee neuer had faire day without Fogge or Raine, and Windes bad, much to the West North-west; whereby wee were driuen southward vnto forty-one Degrees scarse. Wee had Winde always so scant from W.N.W. and from W.S.W. againe, that our trauerse was great; running South vnto forty-one Degrees almost, and afterward North into 51 Degrees. Also wee were incombred with much Fogge and Mists, in maner palpable, in which wee could not keepe so well to-

gether; but were disseuered, losing the Companie of the *Swallow*, and the *Squirrill*, vpon the 20th day of July. Saturday the 27th, wee might descry not farre from-vs, as it were *Mountaines of Yce driuen vpon the Sea, being then in fifty Degrees, which were caried southward to the weather of vs: whereby may be coniectured that some Current doth set that way from the North.

Before wee come to *Newfoundland*, about fifty Leagues on this side, wee passe the Banke, which are high grounds rising within the Sea and vnder Water... The *Portugals*, and *French* chiefly, have a

* The great danger of these Ice Mountains is well described by Foster (*Northern Discoveries*, page 316.) "Two or three times in our Voyage round the World, we were very near one of these bursting Mountains of Ice. As the Centre of Gravity in these Pieces of Ice, is quite different from that of the entire Mass; it frequently happens, that they roll over in the Water, before they come into the situation requisite to preserve their balance. One of these Pieces rolling over in this manner, came so near our Ship, that had it been ten or twelve Feet nearer, it would have hit her; in which case she would have been undoubtedly dashed to pieces, or at least very materially damaged. I must confess that this tremendous Scene is still present to my Imagination in all its horror, and will I believe never be erased from my Memory: For surely a more dreadful situation cannot be conceived, than to range about, imprisoned as it were in a solitary Ship, between dreadful Masses of Ice, on an immense Ocean, many hundred Miles distant from the Land, and remote from all human Assistance; and in this state, constantly surrounded by gloomy Fogs, to be under continual Apprehensions either of running foul of one of these Glacial Mountains, whilst under a press of Sail; or else in case this enormous Mass should burst, to behold its Fragments, rolling about the Sea in unwieldy turbulence, approach the Vessel with a tremendous Noise; perhaps suddenly plunge it to the Bottom of the Vast Abyss."

notable Trade of Fishing upon this Banke, where are sometimes an hundred or more Sailes of Shippes. Upon tewsday the 30th of July, wee got sight of Land, being immediately embayed in the Grand Bay, or some other great Bay, the certainty whereof wee could not judge; so great Hase and Fogge did hang upon the Coast, as neither wee might discern the Land well, nor take the Sunne's height: but by our best computation wee were then in the 51 degrees of Latitude. Forsaking this Bay and uncomfortable Coast, nothing appearing vnto vs but hideous Rockes and Mountaines, bare of Trees and voide of any greene Herbe; wee followed the Coast to the South, with Weather faire and cleare. Trending this Coast, wee came to an Island called * *Baccalaos*.. here weemet with the SWALLOW againe, whom wee had lost in the Fogge. . . We held on our Course southward, vntill we came against the Harbor called *S. John*, about fve Leagues from the former Cape of *S. Francis*; where, before the Entrance into the Harbor, wee found also the Frigat, or SQUIRRIll, lying at Anker; whom the *English* Marchants, that were, and alwaies be Admirals by turnes, interchangeably ouer the Flectes of Fishermen, within the same Harbor, would not permit to enter into the Harbor. Glad of so happy meeting, both of the SWALLOW and Frigat, in one

* *Newfoundland*, called *Baccalaos* by the French.

day, the 3d of August, wee made readie our fights, and prepared to enter the Harbor; any resistance to the contrarie notwithstanding, there being within of all Nations, to the number of 36 Sailes. But firste the Generall dispatched a Boat, to gine them knowledge of his comming for no ill intent; hauing Commission from her Majestie for his Voiage he had in hand. And immediately wee followed with a slacke Gale; and, in the very entrance, which is but narrow, not aboue two butts length, the Admirall fell vpon a Rocke on the Larboord Side, by great ouersight, in that the Weather was faire, the Rocke much aboue Water fast by the Shore, where neither went any Sea Gate. But we found such readinesse in the *English* Marchants to helpe vs in that danger, that without delay there were brought a number of Boates, which towed off the Ship, and cleared her of danger. Hauing taken place conuenient in the Road, wee let fall Ankers; the Captaines and Masters repairing aboard our Admirall: whither also came immediatly the Masters, and Owners of the fishing Fleete of Englishmen, to vnderstand the Generall's Intent and Cause of our arriual there. They were all satisfied when the Generall had shewed his Commission. . . Besides Commissioners were appointed, part of our owne Companie and part of theirs, to go into other Harbors adioyning, for our *English* Marchants command all there, to leaue our Provision: whereunto

the *Portugals*, aboue other Nations, did most willingly and liberally contribute. Insomuch as wee were presented, aboue our Allowance, with Wines, Marmalads, most fine Ruske or Bisket, sweet Oyles, and sundry Delicacies : also wee wanted not of fresh Salmons, Trouts, Lobsters, and other fresh Fish. To grow short, in our abundance at Home the Entertainment had been delightful, but after our Wants, and tedious Passage through the Ocean, it seemed more acceptable and of greater Contentation, by how much the same was vnexpected in that desolate corner of the World. The next Morning, the 4th of August, the Generall and his Company were brought on Land by *English* Marchants ; who showed unto vs their accustomed Walks vnto a Place they call the Garden. But nothing appeared more then Nature it selfe, without Art ; who confusedly had brought foorth Roses abundantly, wilde, but odoriferous, and to sense uery comfortable : also the like plentie of Raspis Berries, which doe grow in euery place.

Munday following, August the fifth, the Generall had his Tent set vp ; who, being accompanied with his own followers, sommoned the Marchants and Masters, both *English* and Strangers, to be present at his taking possession of those Countries. Before whom openly was read, and interpreted vnto the Strangers, his Commission ; by vertue whereof he tooke Possession in the same Harbor, of *St. John*,

and two hundred leagues enery way; inuested the Queen's Maiestie with the Title and Dignitie thereof; had deliuered vnto him, after the Custome of *England*, a Rod and a Turffe of the same Soile, entring possession also for him, his Heires and Assignees for *euer.

Now hauing made readie our Shipping, that is to say, *THE DELIGHT*, *THE GOLDEN HINDE*, and *THE SQUIRRILL*, wee departed from the Harbor of *St. John's* vpon tewsday the twentieth of August; which wee found, by exact obseruation, to be in forty-seven degrees, forty minutes; and the next Night wee were at *Cape Race*. This Cape lyeth S. S. W. from *St. Johns*: it is a low Land, being off from the Cape about halfe a League; within the Sea riseth vp a Rocke against the point of the Cape. Henec we shaped our Course vnto the Island of *Sablon*; whether wee were determind to go, vpon intelligence we had of a *Portugal*, who was himselfe present, when the *Portuguese*, aboue thirty

* Then follows in Hakluyt (page 152,) a curious "Briefe Relation of the *New found lande*, and the Commodities thereof." Among other Singularities he mentions *Silver Ore* being found there. See also in *Purchas*, (Vol. iv, page 1882 and 1888,) Capt. R. Whitbourne's *Voyages to Newfoundland*, and obseruations there; and also the names of diuers honourable Persons, and others, who have helped to aduance his Maiesties Plantation at Newfoundland.

† (Page 154.) Previous to this, the Captain of *The DELIGHT* had returned home: *The SWALLOW* was left behind, with such Provision as could be spared, to convey the Sick. The General embarked in the *SQUIRREL*.

Yeres past, did put into the same Island Neat, and Swine, to breede, which were since exceedingly multiplied.

*The Maner how our Admirall was *lost.*

Upon Tewsday, the 27th of August, toward Euen-
ing, our Generall caused them in his Frigat to
sound, who found white Sande at thirty-five sadome,
being then in Latitude about forty-four Degrees.
Wednesday, toward Night, the Winde came South,
and wee bare with the Land all that Night,
W. N. W. contrary to the Mind of *Master Cox*.
Neuerthelesse wee followed the Admirall, deprived
of power to preuent a Mischiefe, which by no con-
tradiction could be brought to hold other Course;
alleaging they could not make the Shippe to worke
better, nor to lie otherwaies.

The Euening was faire and pleasant, yet not
without token of Storme to ensue; and most part
of this Wednesday Night, like the Swanne that
singeth before her Death, they in the Admirall, or
DELIGHT, continued in sounding of Trumpets,
with Drummes, and Fifes, also winding the Cor-
nets, Haughtboyes; and in the end of their jolitie,
left with the Battell and ringing of doleful Knels.
Towards the Euening also, we caught in the GOLDEN
HINDE a very mighty Porpose, with a harping
Yron; hauing first striken diuers of them, and
brought away part of their Flesh, sticking vpon the

Yron, but could recouer onely that one. These also passing through the Ocean in heardes, did portend Storme. I omit to recite friuolous reportes by them in the Frigat, of strange Voyces the same Night, which scarred some from the Helme.

Thursday, the 29th of August, the Winde rose, and blew vehemently at S. and by E. bringing withal Raine, and thicke Mist, so that wee could not see a Cable length before us: and betimes in the Morning, wee were altogether runne, and folded in, amongst Flats and Sands; amongst which wee found Shoale and Deepe, in euery three or foure Shippes length, after wee began to sound: but first wee were vpon them vnawares, vntill *Master Cox* looking out, discerned, in his judgement, White Cliffes! crying *Land!* withall; though we could not afterward descrie any Land: it being very likely the breaking of the Sea white, which seemed to be White Cliffes, through the Haze and thicke Weather.

Immediately tokens were giuen vnto the Delight, to cast about to Seaward: which, being the greater Shippe, and of burthen 120 Tunnes, was yet formost vpon the * Breach; keeping so ill watch, that they knew not the danger before they felt the same, too late to recouer it: for presently the ADMIRALL strooke a ground, and had soone after her Sterne, and hinder partes beaten in peeces. Whereupon the rest; that is to say the Frigat, in which was

* Breakers.

the Generall, and the GOLDEN HINDE, cast about
E. S. E. bearing to the S. euen for our Liues into
the Windes eye, because that way caried vs to the
Seaward. Making out from this danger, wee
sounded one while seuen Fadome, then fise Fadome,
then foure Fadome and lesse, againe deeper, imme-
diately foure Fadome, then but three Fadome, the
Sea going mightily and high. At last we recovered,
(God be thanked! in some despaire, to Sea roome
enough.

In this Distresse, wee had vigilant eye vnto the
Admirall, whom wee sawe cast away, without
power to giue the Men succour; neither could wee
espie any of the Men, that leaped ouerboard to saue
themselues, either in the same Pinnesse or Coeke,
or vpon Rafter, and such like meanes, presenting
themselues to men in those Extremities; for we de-
sired to saue the Men by euery possible meanes:
but all in vaine, sith God had determined their
ruine. Yet all that day, and part of the next,
we beat vp and downe, as neere vnto the wraeke as
was possible for vs; looking out, if by good hap
we might espie any of them.

This was a heauy and grieuous Euent, to lose at
one blow our chiefe Shippe, freighted with great
prouision, gathered together with much trauell,
care, long time, and difficultie: but more was the
losse of our Men, which perished to the number
almost of an hundreth Soules; amongst whom was

drowned a learned Man, an Hungarian, borne in the Citie of *Buda*, called therefore *Budæus*: who, of Pietie and Zeale to good Attempts, aduentured in this action; minding to record in the *Latine Tongue, the gests and things worthy of remembrance, happening in this Discouerie to the honour of our Nation, the same being adorned with the eloquent Stile of this Orator, and rare Poet of our Time. Here also perished our Saxon Refiner, and discouerer of inestinable Riches, as it was left amongst some of vs in vndoubted Hope. No lesse heauy was the losse of the Captaine *Maurice Browne*, a vertuous, honest, and discreete Gentleman, ouerseene onely in liberty ginen late before to Men, that ought to haue bene restrained: who shewed himselfe a Man resolved, and neuer vnprepared for Death; as by his last Act of this Tragedie appeared, by report of them that escaped this Wracke miraculously, as shall bee hereafter declared. For when all Hope was past of recouering the Shippe, and that Men began to giue ouer, and to saue themselues; the Captaine was aduised before to shift also for his Life, by the Pinnesse at the Sterne of the Shippe; but, refusing that counsell, hee would not giue example with the first to leaue the Shippe, but vsed all meanes to exhort his

* Steph. Parmenius Budeius (*Hakluyt*, Vol. iii, page 137.) inserts a Latin Poem by this Author: *De Navigatione illustris et magnanimi Equitis aurati Humfredi Gilberti, &c.*

people not to despaire, nor so to leaue off their labour; choosing rather to die, then to incurre infamie by forsaking his Charge, which then might be thought to haue perished through his default: shewing an ill president vnto his men by leauing the Shippe first himselfe. With this mind hee mounted vpon the highest Decke, where he attended imminent Death, and unauoidable: how long, I leaue it to God, who withdraweth not his comfort from his Seruants at such Times.

In the meane Season, certaine, to the number of foureteene Persons, leaped into a small Pinnesse, the bignes of a Thames Barge, which was made in the *New found land*; cut off the Rope wherewith it was towed, and committed themselues to God's Mercy, amidst the Storme, and rage of Sea and Windes; destitute of Foode, not so much as a droppe of fresh Water. The Boate seeming ouercharged in foule Weather with companie, *Edward Headly*, a valiant Souldier, and well reputed; preferring the greater to the lesser, thought better that some of them perished, then all; made this motion to cast Lots, and them to be throwen ouerboard, vpon whom the Lots fell, thereby to lighten the Boate, which otherwayes seemed impossible to liue; offred himselfe with the first, content to take this Aduenture gladly: which, neuertheles, *Richard Clarke*, that was Master to the Admirall, and one of this number, refused; aduising to abide God's

Pleasure, who was able to saue all, as well as a few.

The Boate was caried before the Winde, continuing sixe Dayes and Nights in the Ocean; and arriued at last with the Men aliue, but weake, vpon the *New found land*; sauing that the fore-sayd *Headly*, who had bene late sicke, and another, called of vs *Brasile*, of his trauell into those Countreys, died by the way famished, and lesse able to hold out, then those of better health: for such was these poore Men's Extremitie, in cold and wet, to have no better Sustenance then their owne vrine, for sixe dayes together. Thus whom God deliuered from drowning, he appointed to be famished, who doth giue limits to Man's times, and ordaineth the maner and circumstance of dying; whom againe he will preserue, neither Sea, nor Famine can confound: for those that arriued on the *New found land*, were brought into *France* by certain *Frenchmen*, then being vpon that Coast.

After this heauie Chance, wee continued in beating the Sea vp and downe; expecting when the Weather would cleer vp, that wee might yet beare in with the Land, which wee judged not farre off; either the Continent, or some Island: for wee many times, and in sundry places, found ground at 50, 45, 40 Fadomes and lesse; the Ground coming vpon our Lead, being sometimes oazie Sand, and other while a broad Shell, with a little Sand

about it. Our People lost courage dayly after this ill Successe; the Weather continuing thicke and blustering, with increase of Cold: Winter drawing on, which tooke from them all hope of Amendement, settling an Assurance of worse Weather to grow vpon vs euery Day. The Leaside of vs lay full of Flats and Dangers incuitable, if the Winde blew hard at South. Some againe doubted we were ingulfed in the Bay of *S. Lawrence*; the Coast full of Dangers and vnto vs vnknown: but aboue all, Prouision waxed scant, and hope of supply was gone, with losse of our Admirall. Those in the Frigat were already pinched with spare allowance, and want of Clothes chiefly: whereupon they besought the Generall to returne for *England*, before they all perished. And to them of the *GOLDEN HINDE*, they made signes of their Distresse, pointing to their Mouthes, and to their Clothes thinne and ragged: then immediately, they also of the *GOLDEN HINDE* grew to be of the same opinion, and desire to returne home.

The former Reasons hauing also moued the Generall to haue compassion of his poore Men, in whom hee saw no want of good will, but of meanes to performe the Action they came for, resolved vpon Retire; and calling the Captaine, and Master of the *HINDE*, he yeelded them many reasons, inforcing this vunexpected returne; withall protesting himselfe greatly satisfied with that he had scene,

and knew already: reiterating these words, *Be content! we haue seene enough; and take no care of expence past, I will set you foorth royally the next Spring, if God send vs safe home: therefore I pray you let vs no longer striue here, where wee fight against the Elements.* Omitting circumstance, how vnwillingly the Captaine and Master of the HINDE condescended to this motion, his owne Company can testifie; yet comforted with the General's promises of a speedie returne at Spring, and induced by other apparent reasons, prouing an impossibilitie to accomplish the action at that time; it was concluded on all hands to retire.

So vpon Saturday in the Afternoone, the 31st of August, wee changed our Course, and returned backe for *England*; at which very instant, euen in winding about, there passed along betweene vs and towards the Land, which wee now forsooke, a very Lion, to our seeming, in shape, hair, and colour; not swimming, after the maner of a Beast. by mouing of his feete, but rather sliding vpon the Water with his whole body, excepting the legs, in sight; neither yet dining vnder, and againe rising aboue the Water, as the maner is of Whales, Dolphins, Tunise, Porposes, and all other Fish, but confidently shewing himselfe aboue water without hiding: Notwithstanding, wee presented ourselues in open view and gesture to amase him, as all Creatures will be commonly at a sudden gaze, and sight

of Men. Thus he passed along turning his Head to and fro, yawning and gaping wide, with ougly demonstration of long Teeth, and glaring Eies; and to bidde vs a farewell, comming right against the *HINDE*, he sent forth a horrible voyce, roaring or bellowing as doeth a Lion: which Spectacle wee all beheld, so farre as wee were able to discerne the same, as Men prone to wonder at euery strange thing; as this doubtlesse was, to see a Lion in the Ocean Sea, or Fish in shape of a Lion. What opinion others had thereof, and chiefly the Generall himselie, I forbeare to deliuer: but he tooke it for *bonum Omen*, rejoycing that he was to warre against such an Enemie, if it were the Deuill.

The Winde was large for *England* at our returne, but very high, and the Sea rough; insomuch as the Frigat wherein the Generall went was almost swallowed vp. *Munday*, Sept. 2, in the After-noone wee passed in the sight of *Cape Race*; hauing made as much way, in little more then two Dayes and Nights, backe againe, as before wee had done in eight Dayes from *Cape Race*, vnto the place where our Shippe perished: which hindrance thitherward, and speede backe againe, is to be imputed vnto the swift Current, as well as to the Windes, which we had more large in our returne. This *Munday*, the Generall came aboard the *Hinde*, to haue the Surgeon of the *Hinde* to dresse his Foote, which he hurt by treading vpon a Naile: at what

time wee comforted ecli other, with hope of hard successe to be all past, and of the good to come. So agreeing to cary out Lights alwayes by Night, that wee might keepe together, he departed into his Frigat, being by no meanes to be intreated to farie in the *Hinde*; which had bene more for his security. Immediatly after followed a sharpe Storme, which we ouerpassed for that Time: Praysed be God.

The Weather faire, the Generall came aboard the *Hinde* againe, to make merrie together with the Captaine, Master, and Company; which was the last meeting, and continued there from Morning vntill Night. During which time there passed sundry Discourses, touching affaires past, and to come; lamenting greatly the losse of his great Shippe, more of the Men, but most of all of his Bookes, and Notes; and what els I know not, for which hee was out of measure griued: the same doubtless being some matter of more importance then his Bookes, which I could not draw from him. Yet, by circumstance, I gathered the same to be the Ore, which *Daniel* the Saxon had brought vnto him in the *New found land*. Whatsouer it was, the remembrance touched him so deepe, as, not able to containe himselfe, he beat his Boy in great rage, euen at the same time, so long after the miscarrying of the great Shippe; because vpon a faire Day when wee were becalmed vpon the Coast of the

New found land, neere vnto *Cape Race*, he sent his Boy aboard the Admirall to fetch certaine things: amongst which, this being chiefe, was yet forgotten and left behind. After which Time, he could neuer conueniently send againe a boord the great Shippe; much lesse he doubted her ruine so neere at hand.

Herein my opinion was better confirmed diuersly, and by sundry coniectures, which maketh me haue the greater hope of this rich Mine: for whereas the Generall had neuer before good conceit of these North parts of the World, now his Mind was wholly fired upon the *New found land*: And, as before he refused not to grant assignements liberally to them, that required the same into these North Parts, now he became contrarily affected, refusing to make any so large Grants, especially of *St. Johns*; which certaine English Marchants made suite for; offering to employ their Money and Travell vpon the same: yet neither by their owne Suite, nor of others of his owne Company, whom he seemed willing to pleasure, it could be obtained.

Also, laying downe his determination in the Spring following, for disposing of his Voyage then to be reattempted; he assigned the Captaine, and Master of the *Golden Hinde*, unto the South Discovery, and reserved unto himselfe the North; affirming, that this Voyage had wonne his heart from

the South, and that he was now become a northerne Man altogether. Last, being demanded what means he had, at his arriual in *England*, to compasse the Charges of so great Preparation, as he intended to make the next Spring; hauing determined vpon two Fleetes, one for the South, another for the North; *Leave that to mee*, he replied, *I will aske a pennie of no Man; I will bring good Tidings vnto her Maiestie, who will be so gracious to lend me 10,000 Pounds.* Willing us therefore to be of good cheere, for he did thanke God, he said, *with al his Heart, for that he had scene; the same being enough for vs all, and that wee needed not to seeke any farther.* And these last words he would often repeate, with demonstration of great feruencie of Mind; being himselfe very confident, and settled in beliefe of inestimable good by this Voyage; which the greater number of his followers, neuertheless, mistrusted altogether, not being made partakers of those Secrets, which the Generall kept vnto himselfe: yet all of them that are liuing, may be witnesses of his Words and Protestations, which sparingly I haue deliuered.

Leauing the i-sue of this good hope vnto God, who knoweth the Truth onely, and can at his good pleasure bring the same to light: I will hasten to the end of this Tragedie, which must be knit vp in the Person of our Generall. And as it was Gods ordinance vpon him, euen so the vehement per-

swasion, and intreatie of his Friends, could nothing auaile, to diuert him from a wilfull Resolution of going through in his Frigat; which was ouercharged vpon their Deckes, with Fights, Nettings, and small Artillerie; too cumbersome for so small a Boate, that was to passe through the Ocean Sea at that Season of the Yere: when by course wee might expect much Storme of foule Weather, whereof indeed wee had enough. But when he was intreated by the Capitaine, Master, and other his well willers of the *Hinde*, not to venture in the Frigat, this was his answer,—*I will not forsake my little Company going homeward, with whom I haue passed so many Stormes and Perils*; and, in very Trueth, he was vrged to be so ouer hard, by hard Reports giuen of him, that he was afraid of the Sea: albeit this was rather rashness, then aduised resolution, to preferre the winde of a vaine Report, to the weight of his owne Life.

Seeing he would not bend to Reason, he had Prouision out of the *Hinde*, such as was wanting aboard his Frigat: and so wee committed him to God's Protection, and set him aboard his Pinnesse; wee being more then 300 Leagues onward of our way home.

By that time, wee had brought the *Islands of Açores* south of vs; yet wee then keeping much to the North, vntil wee had got into the height and elevation of *England*; wee met with very foule Wea-

ther, and terrible Seas, breaking short and high, Pyramid wise: the reason whereof seemed to proceede, either of hilly Grounds, high and low within the Sea, as wee see Hilles and Dales vpon the Land, vpon which the Seas doe mount and fall; or else the cause proceedeth of diuersitie of Windes, shifting often in sundry points; al which hauing power to moue the great Ocean, which againe is not presently settled, so many Seas do encounter together, as there had bene diuersitie of Windes. Howsoeuer it commeth to passe, Men, which all their life had occupied the Sea, neuer saw more outragious Seas. Wee had also vpon our maine Yard, an Apparition of a little Fire by Night, which Seamen doe call *Castor and Pollux*; but wee had onely one, which they take an evill signe of more Tempest: the same is usuall in Stormes.

Munday the 9th of September, in the Afternoone, the Frigat was neere east away, oppressed by Waues, yet at that time reconered; and, giuing forth signes of Joy, the Generall sitting abaft with a Booke in his hand, cried out vnto vs in the *Hinde*, so oft as wee did approach within hearing, *Wee are as neere to Heaven by Sea, as by Land!* reiterating the same Speech, well beseeeming a Souldier resolute in Jesus Christ, as I can testifie he was. The same Munday Night, about twelue of the clocke, or not long after, the Frigat being ahead of vs in the *Golden Hinde*, suddenly her Lights were out!

whereof, as it were in a moment, wee lost the sight; and withall our Watch cryed, *The * Generall was cast away!* Which was too true: for in that moment the Frigat was deuoured and swallowed vp of the Sea. Yet still wee looked out all that Night, and euer after, vntill wee arriued vpon the Coast of *England*: omitting no small Saile at Sea, vnto which wee gaue not the Tokens between vs agreed vpon, to haue perfect knowledge of each other, if wee should at any time be separated.

In great torment of Weather, and perill of drowning, it pleased God to send safe home the *Golden Hinde*, which arrived in *Falmouth* the 22 day of September, being Sunday; not without as great danger escaped in a Flaw, comming from the south east, with such thicke Mist, that wee could not diserne Land, to put in right with the Hauen. From *Falmouth* wee went to *Dartmouth*, and lay there at anker before the *Range*; while the Captaine went aland, to enquire if there had bene any newes of the Frigat, which sayling well, might happily haue bene before vs. Also to certifie *Sir John Gilbert*, brother vnto the Generall, of our hard succeesse: whom the Captaine desired, while his Men were yet aboard him, and were witnesses of all occurrents in that Voyage, it might please him to

* The curious Reader will find in *Hakluyt*, (Vol. iii, page 11—24,) a Discourse, consisting of ten Chapters, written by *Sir H. Gilbert*, to prove that there exists a Passage by the N.W. to the East Indies. I have also the original Copy of this Tract, "Imprinted at London 1576."

take the Examination of euery Person particularly, in discharge of his and their faithfull endenour. *Sir John Gilbert* refused so to doe; holding himselfe satisfied with Report made by the Captaine, and not altogether despairing of his Brother's safetie, offered Friendship and Curtesie to the Captaine and his Company, requiring to haue his Barke brought into the Harbour; in furtherance whereof, a Boate was sent to helpe to tow her in.

Neuerthelesse, when the Captaine returned aboard his Shippe, he found his Men bent to depart, euery Man to his Home: and then the Winde seruing to proccede higher vpon the Coast, they demanded Money to carie them Home, some to *London*, others to *Harwich*, and elsewhere, if the Barke should be caried into *Dartmouth*, and they discharged so farre from Home; or else, to take benefite of the Winde, then seruing to draw neerer home; which should be a lesse charge vnto the Captaine, and a greater ease vnto the Men, hauing els farre to goe.

Reason, accompanied with Necessitie, perswaded the Captaine, who sent his lawfull excuse and cause of his sudden departure vnto *Sir John Gilbert*, by the Boate of *Dartmouth*; and from thence the *Golden Hinde* departed, and tooke harbour at *Waimouth*: al the Men, tired with the tediousness of so vnprofitable a Voyage to their seeming, in which their long expence of Time, much Toyle

and Labour, hard Diet and continual Hazard of Life, was vnrecompensed; their Captaine, neuertheless, by his great Charges, impaired greatly thereby, yet comforted in the goodnes of God, and his vndoubted Prouidence following him in all that Voyage; as it doth alwaies those at other Times, who-soeuer haue confidence in Him alone. Yet haue wee more neere feeling, and perseuerance, of his powerfull hand and Protection, when God doth bring vs together with others into one same Peril, in which hee leaueth them, and deliuereth vs, making vs thereby the beholders, but not partakers of their ruine.

Euen so, amongst very many Difficulties, Discontentments, Mutinies, Conspiracies, Sickneses, Mortalitie, Spoylings, and Wracks by Sea; which were Afflictions, more then in so small a Fleete, or so short a Time may be supposed; albeit true in euery particularitie, as partly by the former relation may be collected, and some I suppressed with silence for their sakes liuing; it pleased God to support this Company, of which onely one Man died of a maladie inueterate, and long infested: the rest kept together in reasonable contentment and concord; beginning, continuing; and ending the Voyage, which none els did accomplish, either not pleased with the Action, or impatient of Wants, or preuented by Death.

Thus haue I deliuered the Contents of the En-

terprise, and last action of *Sir Humfrey Gilbert*, Knight, faithfully, for so much as I thought meete to be published. Wherein may alwaies appeare, though hee be extinguished, some sparkes of his Vertues: hee remaining firme and resolute in a Purpose, by all pretence honest and goodly; as was this to discover, possesse, and to reduce vnto the Seruice of God, and Christian Pietie, those remote and heathen Countreys of *America*, not actually possessed by Christians, and most rightly appertaining vnto the Crowne of *England*. Vnto the which, as his Zeale deserueth high Commendation, euen so, hee may justly be taxed of temeritie and presumption. And to *conclude, it is well knowne to all Men of sound judgement, that this Voyage is of greater importance, and will be found more beneficiall to our Countrey, then all other Voyages at this Day in use, and Trade amongst vs. Let vs therefore with cheerefull minds, and couragious hearts, giue the Attempt, and leaue the Sequell, to Almighty God: for if hee bee on our part, what forceth it who bee against vs. Thus leaning the cōrection, and reformation vnto the Gentle Reader, whatsoeuer is in this Treatise too much or too little, otherwise vnperfect, I take leaue, and so end.

* Pages 174, 181.

SECTION II.

*Abstract of a briefe Note of a Voyage to the East Indies, begun the 10th of April, 1591; wherein were three tall Ships, the Penelope of Captaine Raimond, ADMIRALL; the Merchant Royall, whereof was Captaine, Samuel Foxcroft, VICE ADMIRALL; the Edward Bonaventure, whereof was Captaine, M. James Lancaster, RERE ADMIRALL, with a small Pinnesse. Written by * HENRY MAY, who, in his returne Homeward, by the West Indies, suffred Shipwracke vpon the Isle of Bermuda.*

THE 29 of July (1591) wee came to *Aguada Saldania*, a good Harbour neere the Cape of *Buona Sperança*, where wee stayed about a Moneth with the *Merchant Royall*, which by reason of sicknesse in our Fleet was sent home for *England* with diuers weake Men. Here wee bought an Oxe for a Knife of three pence, a Sheepe for a broken Knife, or any other odde trifle, of the people which were *Negroes*, clad in Cloaks or Mantles of raw Hides, both Men and Women. The 8th of Septem-

* *Hakluyt*, (Vol. iii, page 571.) See also *Purchas*, (Vol. iv, page 1793.)

ber the *Penelope*, and the *Edizard Bonaventure* weyed anker, and that day wee doubled the Cape of *Buona Sperança*. The 12th following, wee were taken with an extreame Tempest, or Ilurricano. This Euening wee saw a great Sea breake ouer our ADMIRALL the *Penelope*, and their Light strooke out: and after that wee neuer saw them any more. In October following, wee in the *Edizard*, fell with the westermost part of the Isle of *S. Laurence* about midnight, knowing not where wee were. Also the next Day, wee came to an anker at * *Quitangone*, a place on the Main Land of *Africa*, which is two or three Leagues to the Northward of *Mozambique*; where the *Portugals* of the Isle of *Mozambique* fetch all their fresh Water. Here we tooke a *Pangaia* with a *Portugall* Boy in it, which is a Vessell like a Barge, with one Matsaile of Coco nut leaues: the Barge is sowed together with the Rindes of Trees (Cocoa) and pinned with wooden Pinnes. From this place wee went for an Island called *Comoro*, vpon the Coast of *Melinde*, which standeth about 11 degrees to the South of the Equinoctial; in which Island wee stayed all Neuember, finding the People blacke and very comly, but very treacherous and cruell. From

* This part of the Voyage is the more interesting from our ignorance of this Eastern Coast of Africa.—See Progress of Maritime Discovery, (Vol. i, *Introduction*, sect. iv, page 212. And Book i, c. 3, pages 434, 446.)

hence wee went for the Isle of *Zanzibar*, on the Coast of *Melinde*, whereas wee stayed and wintered vntill the beginning of February following.

The 2d of February, 1592, wee weyed anker, and set saile directly for the *East-Indies*; but, hauing Calmes and contrary Windes, wee were vntill the moneth of June, before wee could recouer the Coast of *India* neere *Calicut*; whereby many of our Men died for want of refreshing. In this moneth of June wee came to an anker at the Isles of * *Pulo Pinaom*, whereas wee stayed vntill the first Day of September, our Men being very sicke, and dying apace. This Day wee set saile, and directed our Course for *Malaca*.

In the Moneth of November we shaped our Course for the Island of *Nicubar*, lying certeine Leagues to the Northwest of the famous Island of *Sumatra*; whereas within short Time wee came to anker, and here wee had very good refreshing; and within two Dayes they brought vnto us Reals of Plate, giuing vs them for *Calicut* Cloth; which Reals they found by diuing in the Sea, which were lost not long before in two Portugal Shippes which were bound for *China*, and were cast away there. This was the furthest place that wee were at to the South East: and heere, because our Company by this time was much wasted and diminished,

* The Isle of *Pulo Pinang*, at present called *The Prince of Wales Island*.

wee resolved to turne backe to the Isle of *Zeilan*. Wherefore wee weyed anker in the Moneth of Nouember, and arriued at *Zeilan* about the end of the same Moneth. In this Island groweth great store of excellent Cinamom, and the best Diamonds in the World. Here our Captaine meant to stay to make vp our Voyage; whereof hee conceiued great hope, by certeine intelligence which wee had received: but the Company, which were in all but 33 Men and Boyes, being in a mutiny, and enery Day ready to go together by the Eares, the Captaine being sicke and like for to die, would not stay, but would needs go home.

The 8th of December, 1592, wee set saile homeward; but some 15 Dayes, before wee had sight of the *Cape of Good Hope*, wee were forced to share our Bread, by reason wee had certeine Flies in our Shippe, which deuoured most part of our Bread before wee were aware. The last of March, 1593, wee doubled the *Cape*. In April next insuing, wee came to anker at the Island of *S. Helena*; whereas wee found an English Man, a Tailer, which had bene there 14 Moneths before wee came thither: so wee sending our Boat on Shore with some ten Men, they found this English Man in the Chapell; who by reason of the Heat of the Climaat, was inforced to keepe himselfe out of the Sun. Our Company hearing one sing in the Chapell, supposing it had bene some *Portugal*, thurst open the

Doore, and went in vnto him : but the poore Man seeing so many come in vpon him on the sudden, and thinking them to be *Portugals*, was first in such a feare, not having seene any Man in 14 Moneths before; and afterwards, knowing them to be Englishmen, and some of them of his Acquaintance, in such Joy; that what betweene excessive sudden Feare, and Joy, he became distracted of his Wits, to our great Sorowes. Here wee found of his drying some 40 Goats : the Party had made him for want of Apparell, two Sutes of Goats Skinnes with the hairy Side outwards, like vnto the Sauages of *Canada*. Here wee stayed all this Moneth. This Man lived untill wee came to the *West Indies*, and then he died.

In the Moneth of June, 1593, wee arriued at the Island of *Trinidad* in the *West Indies*, hoping there to finde refreshing; but wee could not get any, by reason that the Spanyards had taken it. Here wee were imbayed betweene the Island and the Maine, and for want of Victuals the Company would have forsaken the Shippe: whereupon, the Captaine was inforced to sweare euery Man, not to forsake the Ship, vntill wee should see further occasion. Out of this Bay, called *Boca de Dragone*, it pleased God to deliuer vs; from whence wee directed our Course for the Isle of *S. Juan de Puerto Rico*, but fell with the small Isle of *Mona*, where wee abode some ~~fifteene~~ ^{fifteene} Dayes, finding in

that place some small refreshing. And heere arrived a Ship of *Caen* in *Normandy*, whereof was Captaine one *Monsieur Charles de la Barbotiere*, who greatly refreshed vs with Bread and other Prouision, which wee greatly wanted. . .

The last of Nouember, 1593, *Monsieur de la Barbotiere* departed from a Port called *Laguna*, in *Hispaniola*. The 17th of December next insuing, it was his fortune to haue his Ship cast away vpon the North west part of the Isle of *Bermuda*, about Midnight. The Pilots, making themselues at Noone to be to the southward of the Island twelve Leagues, certified the Captaine that they were out of all danger: so they demanded of him *their Wine of heighth*, the which they had. And being, as it should seeme, after they had their Wine, carelesse of their Charge which they tooke in hand, being as it were drunken; through their negligence a number of good Men were cast away: and * I being but a stranger among fifty and odde Frenchmen and others, it pleased God to appoint me to be one of them that were saued, I hope to his Seruice and Glory.

Wee made account at the first, that wee were

* In a part of the Voyage, which is here omitted, our Author informs us, " Our Captaine, who had been detamed on board the French Ship, but was afterwards released, requested *M. de la Barbotiere* that he would give me passage home with him, to certifie the Owners what had passed in all the Voyage, as also of the unrulnesse of the Company."

cast away hard by the Shore, being hie Clifs; but wee found our selues seuen Leagues off: but with our Boat, and a Raft which wee had made, and towed at our Boat's sterne, wee were saued some 26 of us; among whom were no more *English* but my selfe. Now being among so many Strangers, and seeing not roomc for the one halfe, I durst neither presse into the Boat, nor vpon the Raft, for feare lest they should have cast me ouerboord, or els have killed me; so I stayed in the Shippe, which was almost full of Water, vntill the Captaine being entered the Boat, called me vnto him being at hand, for that it stood vpon Life or Death: and so I presently cntred, leauing the better halfe of our Company to the mercy of the Sea.

After this, wee rowed all the Day vntill an houre or two before Night, yet wee could come on Land, towing the Raft with the Boat. When wec came on Shore, being all the day without drinke, euery Man tooke his way to see if he could finde any: but it was long before any was found. At length, one of the Pilots digging among a company of Weeds, found fresh Water to all our great comforts, being only raine Water; and this was all the fresh Water that wee found on Shore. But there are in this Island many fine Bayes, wherein, if a Man did dig, I thinke there might be found store of fresh Water.

This Island is diuided all into broken Islands; and the greatest Part I was vpon, which might be some 4 or 5 Miles long, and 2 Miles and a halfe ouer: being all Woods, as Ceder and other Timber, but Ceder is the chiefest. Now it pleased God, before our Shippe did split, that wee saued our Carpenter's Tooles, or els I thinke wee had bene there to this day; and hauing recovered the aforesaid Tooles, wee went roundly about the cutting downe of Trees, and in the end built a small Barke of some 18 tun, for the most part with trónnels, and very few Nailles. As for Tackling, wee made a Voyage aboard the Ship before she split, and cut downe her Shrowds, and so wee tackled our Barke, and rigged her. Instead of Pitch wee made Lime, and mixed it with the Oile of Tortoises; and, as soone as the Carpenters had calked, I, and another, with ech of vs a small Sticke in our hands, did plaister the Morter into the Seames; and being in *April*, when it was warm and faire Weather, wee could no sooner lay it on, but 'it was dry, and as hard as a Stone.

In this Moneth of *April*, 1594, the Weather being very hot, wee were afayd our Water should faile vs, and therefore made the more haste away; and at our departure, wee were constrained to make two great Chests, and calked them, and stowed them on ech side of our Maine Mast; and so put

in our Provision of Raine Water, and 13 live Tortoises for our Food, for our Voyage, which wee intended to *Newfoundland*.

In the South Part of this Island of *Bermuda* there are Hogs, but they are so leane, that you cannot eat them, by reason the Island is so barren : but it yeeldeth great store of Fowle, Fish, and Tortoises ; and to the Eastward of the Island are very good Harbours, so that a Shippe of 200 tun may ride there landlocked, without any danger, with Water enough. Also in this Island is as good fishing for Pearles, as is any in the *West Indies* ; but that the place is subiect to foule Weather, as Thundering, Lightning, and Raine : but in *April*, and part of *May*, we had very faire and hot Weather.

The 11th of May, it pleased God to set vs cleere of the Island, to the no little Joy of vs all ; after wee had liued in the same almost the space of five Moneths : And the 20th of May, wee fell with the Land nere to *Cape Briton*, where wee ran into a fresh water Riuer, whereof there be many, and tooke in Wood, Water, and Ballast. And here the people of the Countrey came vnto vs, being clothed all in Furs, with the furred side vnto their Skins ; and brought with them Furres of sundry sorts to sell, besides great store of Wild Ducks : so some of our Company hauing saued some small Beads, bought some of their Ducks. Here wee

stayed not above foure houres, and so departed. This should seem to be a very good Countrey, and wee saw very fine Champion ground, and Woods.

From this Place wee ranne for the Banke of *Newfoundland*, whereas wee met with diuers; but none would take in a Man of vs, vntill it pleased God that wee met with a Barke of *Falmouth*, which receined vs all for a little Time; and with her wee tooke a French Ship, wherein I left *Capitan de la Barbotier* my deere Friend, and all his Company, and stayed myselfe aboard the English Barke; and, hauing Passage in the same, in the Moneth of *August* I arriued at *Falmouth*, 1594.

SECTION III.

*A true Reportory of the Wracke, and Redemption of Sir Thomas Gates, Knight, vpon, and from the Ilands of the Bermudas, written by William Strachy, * Esquire.—A most dreadful Tempest, the manifold Deaths whereof are here to the life described.*

EXCELLENT †LADY,

June 2d, 1609.

KNOW that vpon Friday late in the euening, wee brake ground out of the Sound of *Plymouth*, our whole Fleete then consisting of seuen good Ships, and two Pinnaces; all which from the said second of June, vnto the twenty-three of July, kept in friendly consort together not a whole Watch at any time, loosing the sight each of other. Our Course when wee came about the height of between 26 and 27 degrees, wee declined to the Northward; and according to our Gouvernours instructions, altered the Trade and ordinary way vsed heretofore by *Dominico* and *Meuis*, in the *West Indies*, and found

* *Purchas's Pilgrimes*, (Vol. iv, page 1734.)

† Probably *Lady de la Warr*, whose Husband was then carried out to take the Government of *Virginia*.

the Winde to this Course indeede as friendly, as in the judgement of all Sea-men it is vpon a more direct line, and by *Sir George Summer*, our Admirall had bin likewise in former time sailed, being a Gentleman of approved assurednesse and ready knowledge in Sea-faring actions; hauing often carried command, and chiefe charge in many Ships Royall of her Maiesties, and in sundry Voyages, made many defeats and attempts in the time of the Spaniards quarrelling with vs, vpon the Ilands and Indies.

Wee had followed this Course so long, as now wee were within seuen or eight dayes at the most, by *Cap. Newport's* reckoning, of making *Cape Henry* vpon the Coast of *Virginia*; when on *S. James* his day, July 24, being Monday, (preparing for no lesse all the black Night before,) the Clondes gathering thicke vpon vs, and the Windes singing and whistling most vnusually; which made vs to cast off our Pinnace, towing the same vntill then asterne; a dreadfull Storme, and hideous, began to blow from out the North-East, which swelling and roaring as it were by fits, some houres with more violence then others, at length did beate all light from Heauen: which like an hell of darkenesse turned blacke vpon vs, so much the more fuller of Horror, as, in such eases, Horror and Feare vse to ouerrunne the troubled, and ouermastered Senses of all; which, taken vp with amaze-

ment, the Eares lay so sensible to the terrible cries and murmurs of the Windes, and distraction of our Company, as who was most armed, and best prepared, was not a little shaken. For surcly, Noble Lady, as Death comes not so sodaine nor apparant, so hee comes not so cluish and painfull; to Men especially euen then in health and perfect habitudes of Body; as at Sea: who comes at no time so welcome, but our frailty (so weake is the hold of hope in miserable demonstrations of danger) it makes guilty of many contrary charges, and conflicts: For indeede Death is accompanied at no time, nor place, with circumstances euery way so vncapable of particularities of goodnesse and inward comforts, as at Sea.

For foure and twenty houres, the Storme, in a restlesse tumult, had blown so exceedingly, as wee could not apprehend in our imaginations any possibility of greater violencc; yet did wee still finde it not onely more terrible, but more constant; fury added to fury, and one Storme vrging a second more outrageous then the former; whether it so wrought vpon our feares, or indeede met with new forces. Sometimes strikes in our Ship amongst women, and Passengers, not vsed to such hurly and discomforts; made vs looke one vpon the other with troubled hearts, and panting bosomes; our clamours dround in the Windes, and the Windes in Thunder. Prayers might well be in the Heart and

Lips, but drowned in the outcries of the Officers : nothing heard that could give Comfort, nothing sene that might incourage Hope. It is impossible for me, had I the voyce of *Stentor*, and expression of as many tongues as his throate of Voyces, to expresse the Outcries and Miseries, not languishing, but wasting his Spirits, and art constant to his owne principles, but not preuailing. Our Sailes wound vp, lay without their vse; and if at any time wee bore but a *Hollocke*, or halfe forecourse, to guide her before the Sea; six, and sometimes eight Men, were not inough to hold the Whipstaffe in the Steerage, and the Tiller below in the Gunner Roome; by which may be imagined the strength of the Storme: In which, the Sea swelled aboue the Clouds, and gaue battell vnto Heaven. It could not be said to raine; the Waters, like whole Ri- uers, did flood in the Ayre. And this I did still obserue; that whereas vpon the Land, when a Storme hath powred itselfe forth once in drifts of Raine; the Winde, as beaten downe, and van- quished therewith, not long after indureth: here the glut of Water, as if throatling the Winde ere while, was no sooner a little emptied, and quali- fied, but instantly the Windes, as hauing gotten their mouthes now free, and at liberty, spake more loud, and grew more tumultuous and malignant: What shall I say? Windes and Seas were as mad as fury and rage could make them: for mine owne

part I had bin in some Stormes before, as well vpon the Coast of *Barbary*, and *Algeere*, in the *Leuant*, and once more distresfull in the *Adriatique Gulfe*, in a bottome of *Candy*—Yet all that I had euer suffered gathered together, might not hold comparison with this: there was not a moment in which the sodaine splitting, or instant ouer-setting of the Shippe, was not expected.

Howbeit this was not all. It pleased God to bring a greater Affliction yet vpon vs: for in the beginning of the Storme wee had receiued likewise a mighty Leake: and the Shippe in euery joynt almost, hauing spued out her Okam, before wee were aware, a casualty more desperate than any other that a Voyage by Sea draweth with it; was growne fūe foote suddenly deepe with Water, aboue her ballast; and wee almost drowned within, whilst we sat looking when to perish from aboue. This imparting no lesse terrour then danger, ranne through the whole Shippe with much fright and amazement; startled and turned the Bloud, and tooke downe the braues of the most hardy Marriener of them all: insomuch, as he that before happily felt not the sorrow of others, now began to sorrow for himselfe, when he saw such a Pond of water so suddenly broken in; and which he knew could not, without present auoiding, but instantly sinke him. So as joyning, onely for his owne

sake not yet worth the sauing, in the publique safety; there might be scene Master, Masters Mate, Boateswaine, Quarter Master, Coopers, Carpenters, and who not, with Candles in their hands, creeping along the Ribs viewing the Sides, searching enery corner, and listening in euery place, if they could heare the Water runne. Many a weeping Leake was this way found, and hastily stopt; and at length one in the Gunner Roome made vp, with I know not how many peeces of Beefe: but all was to no purpose, the Leake, if it were but one, which drunke in our greatest Seas, and tooke in our destruction fastest, could not then be found, nor euer was, by any labour, connsell, or search. The Waters still increasing, and the Pumpes going, which at length choaked with bringing vp whole and continuall Bisket; and indeede all we had, tenne thousand weight; it was conceiued, as most likely, that the Leake might be sprung in the Breadroome; wherenpon the Carpenter went downe, and ript vp all the roome, but could not find it so.

I am not able to give vnto your Ladiship euery Man's thought in this Perplexity, to which wee were now brought; but to me, this Leakage appeared as a wound given to men that were before dead. The Lord knoweth, I had as little hope, as desire of Life in the Storme; and in this, it went beyond my will: because, beyond my reason, why wee

should labour to preserve Life? Yet wee did: either because so deare are a few lingring houres of Life in all Mankinde, or that our Christian knowledges taught vs, how much wee owed to the rites of Nature, as bound not to be false to ourselues, or to neglect the meanes of our owne preservation. The most despairefull things amongst Men, being matters of no wonder nor moment with Him, who is the rich Fountaine, and admirable Essence of all Mercy.

Our Gouvernour, vpon the Tuesday Morning, (at what time, by such who had him below in the hold, the Leake was first discouered,) had caused the whole Company, about one hundred and forty, besides Women, to be equally diuided into three Parts; and opening the Shippe in three places, vnder the Forecastle, in the Waste, and hard by the Bitacke, appointed each Man where to attend: and thereunto enery Man came duely vpon his Watch, tooke the Bucket, or Pumpe, for one Houre, and rested another. Then Men might be seene to labour, I may well say, for life! and the better sort, euen our Gonernour, and Admirall themselves, not refusing their turne, and to spell each the other, to give Example to other. The common sort stripped naked, as Men in Gallies; the easier both to hold out, and to shrink from vnder the Salt Water, which continually leapt in among them, kept their eyes waking, and their thoughts

and hands working, with tyred Bodies, and wasted Spirits, three dayes and foure nights; destitute of outward Comfort, and desperate of any Deliuerance: testifying how mutually willing they were, yet by Labour to keepe each other from drowning, albeit each one drowned whilst he laboured.

Once, so huge a Sea brake vpon the Poopè and Quarter, vpon vs, as it couered our Shippe from Stearne to Stemme, like a Garment or a vast Cloude: it filled her brimme full for a while within, from the Hatches vp to the sparre Decke. This source or confluence of Water was so violent, as it rusht and carried the Helm-Man from the Helme, and wrested the *Whipstaffe* out of his Hand; which so flew from side to side, that when he would haue ceased the same againe, it so tossed him from Star-boord to Lar-boord, as it was God's mercy it had not split him. It so beat him from his hold, and so bruised him; as a fresh Man hazard-ing in by chance, fell faire with it, and by maine strength bearing somewhat up, made good his place, and with much clamour incouraged and called vpon others: who gaue her now vp, rent in pieces and absolutely lost. Our Gouvernour was at this Time below at the Capstone; both by his Speech and Authoritie, heartening euery Man vnto his Labour. It strooke him from the Place where hee sate, and groueled him, and all vs about him on our faces; beating, together with our

breaths, all thoughts from our bosomes, else, then that wee were now sinking. For my part, I thought her alreadie in the Bottome of the Sea: and I haue heard him say, wading out of the flood thereof, all his ambition was but to climbe vp aboue the Hatches, to dye in *aperto Cælo*, and in the company of his old Friends. It so stun'd the Shippe in her full pace, that shee stirred no more then if shee had beene caught in a Net; or then, as if the fabulous *Remora* had stucke to her Fore-castle. Yet without bearing one inch of Saile, euen then shee was making her way nine or ten Leagues in a Watch. One thing, it is not without his wonder, whether it were the feare of Death in so great a Storme, or that it pleased God to be gracious vnto vs; there was not a Passenger, Gentleman, or other, after hee beganne to stirre and labour, but was able to relieue his fellow, and make good his course: And it is most true, such as in all their life times had neuer done houres worke before, (their Mindes now helping their Bodies,) were able twice fortie-eight houres together to toile with the best.

During all this Time, the Heauens look'd so blacke vpon vs, that it was not possible the eleuation of the Pole might be obserued; nor a Starr by Night, nor Sunne beame by Day, was to be seene. Onely vpon the Thursday Night, *Sir George Summers* being vpon the Watch, had an

apparition of a little round light, like a faint Starre, trembling, and streaming along with a sparkeling Blaze, half the height vpon the Maine Mast; and shooting sometimes from Shroud to Shroud, tempting to settle as it were vpon any of the foure Shrouds: and for three or foure Houres together, or rather more, halfe the Night it kept with vs, running sometimes along the Maineyard to the very end, and then returning. At which *Sir George Summers* called diuers about him, and shewed them the same, who obserued it with much wonder and carefulnesse: but vpon a sodaine, towards the Morning Watch, they lost the sight of it, and knew not what way it made. The superstitious Sea-men make many constructions of this Sea-fire, which neuertheless is vsuall in Stormes: the same, it may be, which the *Gracians* were wont, in the *Mediterranean*, to call *Castor* and *Pollux*; of which, if one onely appeared without the other, they tooke it for an euill Signe of great Tempest. The *Italians*, and such who lye open to the *Adriatique*, and *Tyrrene* Sea, call it, a sacred Body, *Corpo Sancto*: the *Spaniards* call it *St. Elmo*, and haue an authentique and miraculous Legend for it. Be it what it will, wee laid other foundations of safety or ruine, then in the rising or falling of it: could it haue serued vs now miraculously to haue taken our height by, it might haue stricken amazement, and a reuerence in our

Devotions, according to the due of a Miracle. But it did not light vs any whit the more to our knowne way; who ran now, as doe hood winked Men, at all adventures, sometimes North, and North-east, then North and by West, and in an instant againe varying two or three points, and sometimes half the Compasse. East, and by South, we steered away, as much as wee could, to beare vp-right, which was no small carefulness nor paine to doe; albeit we much vnriggid our Shippe, threw ouer-board much Luggage, many a Trunke and Chest, in which I suffered no meane losse; and staued many a Butt of Beere, Hogsheads of Oyle, Syder, Wine, and Vinegar, and heaued away all our Ordnance on the Starboord Side; and had now purposed to haue cut downe the Maine Mast, the more to lighten her: for wee were much spent, and our Men so weary, as their strengths together failed them, with their Hearts; hauing trauailed now from Tuesday, till Friday Morning, Day and Night, without either sleepe or foode. For the Leakage taking vp all the Hold, we could neither come by Beere nor fresh Water. Fire wee could keepe none in the Cookeroom to dresse any Meate; and Carefulnesse, Griefe, and our turne at the Pompe, or Bucket, were sufficient to holde Sleepe from our Eyes.

And surely, Madam, it is most true, there was not any Iloure, (a matter of admiration,) all these

Dayes, in which wee freed not twelue hundred Bar-ricos of Water; the least whereof contained six Gallons, and some eight; besides three deepe Pumpes continually going, two beneath at the Cap-stone, and the other aboue in the Halfe Decke, and at each Pumpe four thousand strookes at the least in a watch; so as I may well say, euery foure houres wee quitted one hundred Tunnes of Water: and from Tuesday Noone, till Friday Noone, wee bailed and pumped two thousand Tunne; and yet doe what wee could, when our Shippe held least in her, after Tuesday Night, second Watch, she bore ten foote deepe: at which stay, our extreame working kept her one eight Glasses, forbearance whereof had instantly sunke vs; and it being now Friday, the fourth Morning, it wanted little but that there had bin a generall determination, to haue shut vp Hatches, and, commending our sinfull Soules to God, committed the Shippe to the mercy of the Sea. Surely, that Night wee must haue done it, and that Night had wee then perished: but see the goodnesse and sweet introduction of better Hope, by our mercifull God giuen vnto vs! *Sir George Summers*, when no man dreamed of such happinesse, had discovered, and cried, *Land!* Indeepe the Morning, now three quarters spent, had wonne a little cleerenesse from the Dayes before; and, it being better surueyed, the very Trees were seene to moue with the Wind vpon the Shoare

Side: whereupon our Gouvernour commanded the Helme-Man to beare vp. The Boateswaine sounding at the first, found it thirteene Fathome; and, when wee stood a little in, seuen Fathome, and presently, heaving his lead the third time, had grounde at foure Fathome; and, by this, wee had got her within a mile vnder the South-east point of Land, where wee had somewhat smooth Water. But hauing no hope to saue her by comming to an anker in the same, wee were inforced to runne her Ashoare, as neere the Land as wee could; which brought vs within three quarters of a Mile of Shoare: and by the mercy of God vnto vs, making out our Boates, wee had ere Night brought all our Men, Women and Children, about the number of one hundred and fifty, safe into the Iland.

Wee found it to be the dangerous and dreaded Iland, or rather Ilands of *Bermuda*; whereof let mee giue your Ladiship a brieffe Description, before I proceed to my Narration, and that the rather, because they be so terrible to all that euer touched on them; and such Tempests, Thunders, and other fearefull Objects are seene and heard about them, that they be called commonly *The Deuil's Ilands*, and are feared and auoyded of all Sea Travellers aliuie, aboue any other place in the World. Yet it pleased our mercifull God, to make euen this hideous and hated Place, both the place of our Safetie, and meanes of our deliuerance.

And hereby also, I hope to deliver the World from a foule and generale Errour: it being counted of most, that they can be no habitation for Men, but rather giuen ouer to Deuils and wicked Spirits: whereas, indeed, wee find them now by experience, to bee as habitable and commodious, as most Countries of the same Climate and Situation: insomuch, as if the entrance into them were as easie, as the Place itselfe is contenting, it had long ere this beene inhabited, as well as other Islands. Thus shall wee make it appeare, that *Truth is the Daughter of Time*, and that Men ought not to deny euery thing, which is not subiect to their owne sense.

It should seeme, by the testimony of *Gonzalus Ferdinandus Ouiedus*, in his Booke intituled, *The Summary, or Abridgement of his generall History of the West Indies*, written to the Emperor *Charles the Fifth*, that they (the *Bermudas*) haue beene indeed of greater compasse, and I easily beleue it, then they are now: Who thus saith, “In the yeere 1515, when I came first to informe your Maiesty of the state of the things in *India*, and was the yeere following in *Flanders*, in the time of your most fortunate successe in these your Kingdomes of *Aragony* and *Casteel*; whereas at that Voyage I sayled about the Iland *Bermudas*, otherwise called * *Gor-*

* *Purchas* adds, on the Margin, (page 1738,) that *Ouiedus*, in his general History, (l. ii, c. 9,) reciteth the same; more particularly he saith, it hath two Names; 1. *Garza* of the Ship that first made the Discovery, and *Bermudez* from its Captain,

27, being the farthest of all the Ilands that are yet found at this day in the World : and arriving there at the depth of eight Yards, or Fathomes of Water, and distant from the Land as farre as the shot of a peece of Ordnance; I determined to send some of the Shippe to land, as well as to make search of such things as were there, as also to leaue in the Iland certaintie Hogges for increase : but the time not seruing my purpose, by reason of contrary Winde I could bring my Shippes no neerer. The Iland being twelue Leagues in length, and sixteene in breadth, and about thirtie in circuit; lying in the thirtie three Degrees of the North Side."

These Ilands are often afflicted and rent with Tempests, great strokes of Thunder, Lightning, and Raine, in the extreameity of violence: which, and it may well bee, hath so sundred and torne downe the Rockes, and whurried whole quarters of Ilands into the maine Sea, some sixe, some seuen Leagues, and is like in time to swallow them all; so as euen, in that distance from the Shoare, there is no small danger of them, and with them, of the Stormes continually raging from them: which once

John Bermudez. " He placeth it more to the North, then that which is by ours inhabited; and say, sometime they see it, sometime not, as they passe. The *Spaniards*, as I haue heard, which were wracked there in Captain *Butler's* time, were of opinion that ours are not the *Bermudas*: Yea, some of ours affirme, they haue seen such an Iland to the North of ours, and haue offered to discover it."

in the full, and change, commonly of euery Moone, Winter or Summer, keepe their vnchangeable round, and rather thunder then blow from euery Corner about them, sometimes fortie eight houres together. . . Well may the *Spaniards*, and these *Biscani* Pilots, with all their Traders into the *Indies*, passe by these Ilands as afraid; either bound out, or home-wards; of their very Meridian, and leaue the Fishing for the Pearle; which some say, and I beleeeue well is as good there, as in any of their other *Indian* Islands, and whereof wee had some triall, to such as will aduenture for them. . .

The Soile of the whole Iland is one and the same, the Mould dark, red, sandie, dry, and vncapable, I beleeeue, of any of our Commodities or Fruits. *Sir George Summers*, in the beginning of August, squared out a Garden by the quarter; the quarter being set downe before a goodly Bay, upon which our Gouvernour did first leape ashore, and therefore called it *Gates his Bay*; which opened into the * East. . . A kinde of webbe-footed † Fowle there is, of the bignesse of an *English* greene Plouer, or Sea-Meawe, which all the Summer wee saw not: and in the darkest Nights of Nouember and December,

* Here follows in *Purchas*, (page 1739,) a particular description of the produce of the *Bermudas*. They planted some Sugar Canes, that were intended for *Virginia*; but they were destroyed by the Hogs. The Shaws were full of Cedars, of a superior quality to those in *Virginia*.

† Page 1740, (60.)

for in the Night they onely feed, they would come forth, but not flye farre from home, and hovering in the Ayre, and ouer the Sea, made a strange hollow and harsh howling : their colour is inclining to Russet, with white Bellies ; as are likewise the long Feathers of their Wings, russet and white. These gather themselues together, and breed in those Ilands which are high, and so farre alone into the Sea, that the Wilde Hogges cannot swimme ouer them ; and there, in the Ground, they haue their Burrowes, like Conyes in a Warren, though not so deepe. They were a good and well relished Fowle, fat and full as a Partridge. In January wee had great store of their Egges, which are as great as an Hennes Egge, and so fashioned and white shelled ; and haue no difference in Yolke, or White : which Birds wee called the Sea Owle.

Wee had knowledge that there were wilde Hogges vpon the Iland, at first by our owne Swine preserued from the Wrack and brought to Shoare : The *Tortoise* is reasonable toothsom, some say, wholsome Meate. I am sure our Company liked the Meate of them verie well ; and one Tortoyse would goc further amongst them, then three Hogges. One Turtle, for so wee called them, feasted well a dozen Messes, appointing sixe to euery Messe. It is such a kind of Meate, as a Man can neither absolutely call Fish, nor *Flesh ; keeping most

* See, in the Progress of Maritime Discovery, a somewhat similar description by *Cada Mosto* when at the Cape de Verd

what in the Water, and feeding vpon Sea-grasse, like a Heifer, in the bottome of the Cones and Bayes; and laying their Egges, of which wee should finde five hundred at a Time, in the opening of a Shee Turtle; in the Sand by the Shoare Side, and so, couering them close, leane them to the hatching of the Sunne, like the *Manati* at *Saint Dominique*. Which made the *Spanish* Friars, at their first arriual, make some scruple to eat them on a Friday, because in Colour and Taste the Flesh is like to morsells of Veale.

So * soone as wee were a little settled after our landing, with all the Conueniencie wee might, and as the place, and our many Wants would give vs leave; wee made vp our Long Boate in fashion of a Pinnace; fitting her with a little Deck, made of the Hatches of our ruin'd Shippe, so close that no Water could goe in her; gaue her Sailes and Oares, and intreating with our Master's Mate, *Henry Rauens*, who was supposed a sufficient Pilot, wee found him easily wonne to make ouer therewith, as a Barke of *Auiso*, for *Virginia*. Who the twentie eight of *August*, being Munday, with six Saylers, and our Cape Merchant, *Thomas Whittingham*, departed from vs out of *Gates his Bay*: but to our much wonder returned againe vpon the Wednesday

Islands; he called it *Bisciesciellare* (Vol. i, ch. 2. page 277.) *Purchas* also refers to *Peter Martyr's Account*, in his *Decades of the Ocean*.

* Page 1742.

Night after. Having attempted to have got cleere of the Island, from the N.N.E. to the S.W. but could not, as little Water as she drew, which might not bee above twentie Inches, for Shoales and Breaches; so as he was faine to go out from *Summers Creeks*, and the same way wee came in, on the S.S.E. of the Ilands: And from thence *he made to Sea, the Friday after the first of September; promising if he liued and arriued safe there, to returne vnto vs the next new Moone, with the Pinnace belonging to the Colony there. According vnto which, instructions were directed vnto the new Leiftenant Gouvernour, and Councell, from our Gouvernour here; for which the Ilands were appointed carefully to be watched, and Fiers prepared as Beacons to have directed and wafted him in. But two Moones were wasted vpon the Promontory before mentioned, and gaue many a long, and wished looke round about the Horizon, from the N.E. to the S.W. but in vaine; discovering nothing all the while, which way soeuer we turned our eye, but Ayre, and Sea.

You may please, excellent Lady, to know the reason, which moued our Gouvernour to dispatch this long Boat, was the care which he tooke for the Estate of the Colony, in this his inforced absence: for by a long practised experience, foreseeing and

* In the original it is, *Wee made to Sea*, which, from what follows, is evidently an error.

fearing, what innouation and tumult might happily arise, amongst the younger and ambitious spirits of the new Companies, to arriue in *Virginia*, now comming with him along in this same Fleet; hee framed his Letters to the Colony, and by a particular Commission, confirmed Captaine *Peter Win* his Lieutenant Gouvernor; and had faire hopes all should goe well, if these his Letters might arriue there, vntill such time, as either some Shippe there, which hee fairely belceved, might be moued presently to aduenture for him; or that it should please the right honourable the Lordes, and the rest of his Maiesties Councill in *England*, to addresse thither the right honourable the Lord *Lawar*; one of more emineneie and worthinesse, as the Proieet was before his comming forth; whilst by their honourable fauors, a charitable consideration in like manner might be taken of our estates, to redeeme vs from hence.

In his absenee, *Sir George Summers* coasted the Ilands, and drew the former plat of them; and daily fished, and hunted for our whole Company, vntill the seuen and twentieth of Nonember. When then well perceiuing, that wee were not likely to heare from *Virginia*, and conceiuing how the Pin-nace, which *Richard Frubbusher* was a building, would not be of burthen suffieient to transport all our Men from thence into *Virginia*; especially considering the Season of the Yeare, wherein wee were likely to put off; hee consulted with our Gouer-

nour, that, if hee might haue two Carpenters; for wee had foure such as they were; and twenty Men ouer with him, into the maine Iland, he would quickly frame vp another little Barke to second ours, for the better fitting and conuiance of our People. Our Gouvernour, with many thanks, granted him all things sutable to his desire, and to the furthering of the Worke. Who therefore had made readie for him, all such Tooles, and Instruments, as our owne vse required not; and for him were drawne forth twenty of the ablest and stoutest of the Company, and the best of our Men, to hew and square Timber; when himselfe, then, with daily paines and labour, wrought vpon a small Vessell, which was soone ready as ours. At which wee leaue him a while busied, and returne to ourselues.

In the meane space did one *Frubbusher*, borne at *Graues end*, and at his comming forth now dwelling at *Lime House*; a painefull and well experienced Shipwright, and skilfull Workman, labour in the building of a little Pinnace. For the furtherance of which, the Gouvernour dispensed with no trauaile of his body, nor forbare any care or study of Minde; perswading as much and more an ill qualified parcell of People, by his owne Performance, then by authority, thereby to hold them at their Worke; namely, to fell, carry, and sawe Cedar, fit for the Carpenter's purpose. And sure it was happy for vs, who had now runne this fortune,

and were fallen into the bottome, of this Misery, that wee had our Gouvernour with vs; whose both Example and Authority could lay shame, and command, vpon our People. Else I am perswaded, wee had most of vs finished our dayes there; so willing were the maior part of the common sort, especially when they found such a plenty of Victuals, to settle a foundation of euer inhabiting there. Loe! what are our Affections and Passions, if not rightly squared. Some dangerous and secret Discontents nourished among vs, had like to have bin the Parents of bloody Issues and Mischiefes: they began first in the Sea-men, who in time had fastened vnto them, by false Baits, many of our Land-men *like-wise.

During our Time of abode vpon these Islands, wee had daily euery Sunday two Sermons preached by our Minister; besides, every Morning and Euening at the ringing of a Bell, wee repayred all to publique Prayer: at what time the Names of our whole Company were called by Bell, and such as were wanting were duly punished. The contents for the most part, of all our Preacher's Sermons, were especially of Thankefulnesse and Vnitie.

Wee buried siue of our Company, *Jeffery Briars, Richard Lewis, William Hitchman*, and my God-

* *Purchas* then details the three Mutinies which took place, (page 1743—1746.) Some of the Crew fled into the Woods.

daughter (born on the Island), *Bermuda Rolfe*; and one vntimely, *Edward Samuell*, a Sayler, being villanously killed by the foresaid *Robert Waters*, a Sayler likewise, with a Shouel: who strake him therewith vnder the lift of the Eare; for which he was apprehended, and appointed to be hanged the next day, the fact being done in the Twilight. But being bound fast to a Tree all Night, with many Ropes, and a Guard of fve or six to attend him; his fellow-Saylers, watching the aduantage of the Centinels' sleeping, in despight and disdaine that Justice should bee shewed vpon a Sayler, and that one of their Crue should be an example to others; not taking into consideration the unmanlinesse of the Murther, nor the horror of the Sinne; they cut his Bands, and conueyed him into the Woods, where they fed him nightly, and closely: who afterward, by the mediation of *Sir George Summers*, vpon many conditions, had his Tryall respited by our Gouvernour.

Wee had brought our Pinnasse so forward by this Time, as the eight and twentieth of August, wee hauing laid her Keele the sixe and twentieth of February, wee now began to calke. Old Cables wee had preserued vnto vs, which affoorded Oeam enough; and one Barrell of Pitch, and another of Tarre, wee likewise saued, which serued our vse some little way vpon the Bilg. Wee breamed her otherwise with Lime made of Wilks-Shels, and an

hard white Stone which we burned in a Kill, slaked with fresh Water, and tempered with Tortoyse Oile. The thirtieth of March, being Friday, wee towed her out in the morning Spring-Tyde, from the Wharfe where she was built; boying her with foure Caske in her runne only; which opened into the N.W., and into which, when the Breeze stood North and by West, with any stiffe Gale, and vpon the Spring Tydes, the Sea would increase with that violence, especially twiee it did so, as at the first time (before our Gouvernour had caused a solid Causey of an hundred load of Stone to bee brought from the Hils, and neighbour Roekes, and round about her ribs from Stemme to Stemme, where it made a pointed Baulke, and thereby brake the violence of the Flowe and Billowe) it indangered her onerthrow and ruine, being greene as it were vpon the Stockes. With much difficultie, diligence, and labour, we saued her at the first; all her Bases, Shores, and Piles, which under-set her, being almost carried from her, which was the second of *January*, when her knees were not set to, nor one joynt firme.

We launched her vnrigged, to carrie her to a little round Iland, lying W.N.W. and close aboard to the backe side of our Iland; both neerer the ponds and Wels of some fresh Water, as also from thience to make our way to the Sea the better: the Channel being there sufficient, and deepe enough, to

Heade her forth, when her Masts, Sayles, and all
 her Trimme should bee about her. Shee was for-
 tie foote by the Keele, and nineteene foote broad at
 the Beame; six foote Floore; her Rake forward
 was fourteene foote; her Rake aft, from the top of
 her Post, which was twelue foote long, was three
 foote; shee was eight foote deepe vnder her Beame;
 betweene her Deekes she was foure foote and an
 halfe; with a rising of halfe a foote more vnder her
 fore castle, of purpose to scowre the Decke with
 small Shot, if at any time wee should bee borded
 by the Enemic. Shee had a fall of eighteene inches
 aft, to make her Sterage, and her great Cabbin
 the more large; her Sterage was siue foote long,
 and sixe foote high, with a close Gallerie right aft;
 with a Window on each side, and two right aft.
 The most part of her timber was Cedar, which wee
 found to be bad for Shipping; for that it is wonder-
 ous false inward; and besides, it is so spault or
 brickle, that it will make no good plankes. Her
 beames were all Oke of our ruine Shippe, and some
 plankes in her bow of Oke, and all the rest as is
 aforesaid. When shee began to swimme, vpon
 her launching, our Gouvernour called her the *De-
 liverance*; and shee might be some eighty tunnes of
 burthen.

Before wee quitted our old Quarter, and dis-
 lodged to the fresh Water with our Pinnasse, our
 Gouvernour set vp in *Sir George Summers* Garden,

a faire *Mnemosynon* in figure of a Crosse, made of some of the Timber of our ruined Shippe. Which was serued in with strong and great trunnels to a mightie Cedar, which grew in the midst of the said Garden; and whose top and vpper Branches he caused to be lopped, that the violence of the Winde, and Weather, might haue the lesse power ouer her. In the midst of the Crosse, our Gouvernour fastened the Picture of his Maiestie in a piece of Siluer of twelue Pence; and on each side of the Crosse, he set an Inscription grauen in Copper, in the *Latine*, and *English*, to this purpose.

In Memory of our great Deliuerance, both from a mightie Storme and Leake, wee haue set vp this to the Honour of God. It is the Spoyle of an English Shippe of three hundred tunne, called the Sea Venture, bound with seuen Shippes more, from which the Storme diuided us, to Virginia, or Noua Britania, in America. In it were two Knights, Sir Thomas Gates, Knight, Gouvernour of the English Forces and Colonie there; and Sir George Summers, Knight, Admirall of the Seas. Her Captaine was Christopher Newport: Passengers and Mariners. There had been de, which came all safe to Land, one hundred and fiftie. Wee were forced to runne her ashore, by reason of her Leake, vnder a Point that bore S E. from the northerne Point of the Island, which wee discovered first, the eight and twentieth of Iuly, 1609.

About the last of Aprill, *Sir George Summers* launched his Pinnasse; and brought her from his building Bay, in the Mayne Iland, into the Channell where ours did ride: and she was by the Keele nine and twentie foote; at the Beame, fiftene foote and an halfe; at the Loofe fourteene; at the Trausam nine; and shee was eight foote deepe, and drew sixe foote Water, and hee called her the *Patience*.

From this time wee onely awaited a fauourable westerly Wind to carrie vs forth; which longer then vsual now kept at the East, and S.E. the way which wee were to goe. The tenth of May early, *Sir George Summers*, and *Captain Newport*, went off with their long Boates; and with two Canoaes boyed the Channell, which wee were to leade it out in; and which was no broader from Shoales on the one side, and Rockes on the other, then about three Times the length of our Pinnasse. About ten of the Clocke, that day being Thursday, wee set sayle an easie Gale, the Winde at South, and by reason no more Winde blew, wee were faine to towe her with our long Boate. Yet neither with the helpe of that, were wee able to fit our Bowyes; but euen when wee came just vpon them, wee stricke a Rocke on the Starboard side, ouer which the Bowye rid: and had it not beene a soft Rocke, by which meanes she bore it before her, and crushed it to Pieces, God knowes wee might haue beene like enough to

haue returned ancw, and dwelt there, after tenne Monethes of carefulnesse and great labour, a longer Time. But God was more mercifull vnto vs: when shee stricke vpon the Rocke, the Cockswayne, one *Walsingham*, being in the Boate, with a quicke Spirit; when wee were all amazed and our hearts failed; and so, by God's goodnesse, wee led it out at three Fadome, and three Fadome and an halfe Water. The Wind serued vs easily all that day, and the next; when, God be euer prayed for it, to the no little Joy of vs all, wee got cleere of the Ilands. After which, holding a southerly Course, for seuen dayes wee had the Winde sometimes faire, and sometimes scarce and contrarie: in which Time wee lost *Sir George Summers* twice, albeit wee still spared him our Mayne Top Sayle, and sometimes our fore Course too.

The seuenteenth of May wee saw change of Water, and had much rubbish swimme by our Shippe side, whereby wee knew wee were not farre from Land. The eighteenth, about Midnight, wee sounded with the Dipsing Lead, and found thirtie-seuen Fadome. The nineteenth, in the Morning, wee sounded, and had nineteene and an halfe Fadome, stonie, and sandie ground. The twenticth, about Midnight, wee had a maruellous sweet smell from the Shoare; as from the Coast of *Spaine* short of the Straits; strong and pleasant, which did not a little glad vs. In the Morning by day breake, so

soone as one might well see from the Fore-top, one of the Saylers descryed Land about an houre after. I went vp, and might discouer two Hummockes to the Southward, from which, northward all along, lay the Land, which wee were to coast to *Cape Henric*. About seuen of the clocke we cast forth an Anchor, because the Tyde, by reason of the Freshet that set into the Bay, makes a strong Ebbe there, and the Winde was but easie: so, as not being able to stemme the Tyde, wee purposed to lye at an Anchor vntill the next Flood; but the Winde comming S.W, a loome Gale, about eleuen, wee set sayle againe, and hauing got ouer the Barre, bore in for the Cape.

This is the famous *Chesipiacke Bay*, which wee haue called, in honour of our young Prince, *Cape Henrie*; ouer against which, within the Bay, lyeth another Head-Land, which wee called, in honour of our Princely *Duke of Yorke*, *Cape Charles*: and these lye N.E. and by E. and S. W. and by W. and they may bee distant, each from the other, in breadth seuen Leagues; betweene which the Sea runnes in as broad, as betweene *Queeneburrough* and *Lee*. Indeed it is a goodly Bay, and a fairer not easily to be found. The one and twentieth, (May) beeing Munday in the Morning, wee came vp within two miles of *Point Comfort*; when the Captaine of the Fort discharged a warning Peece at vs: whereupon wee came to an anchor, and nest

off our long Boat to the Fort, to certifie who wee were; by reason of the Shoales which lye on the South Side.

True it is, such who talked with our Men from the Shoare, deliuered how safely all our Shippe's the last Yeere, (excepting only the Admirall and the little Pinnasse in which one *Michael Philes* commanded, of some twentie tunne, which wee towed a sterne till the Storme blew,) arriued, and how our People, wel increased, had therefore builded this Fort. Only wee could not learne any thing of our Long Boat, sent from the *Bermudas*, but what wee gathered by the *Indians* themselves, especially from *Powhatan*; who could tell our Men of such a Boat landed in one of his Riuer, and would describe the People, and make much scoffing sport thereat. By which wee haue gathered, that it is most likely, how it arriued vpon our Coast; and not meeting with our Riuer, were taken at some time or other, at some aduantage by the *Sa-nages*, and so cut off. When our Skiffe came vp againe, the good newes of our Shippe's and Men's arriuell the last Yeere, did not a little glad our *Gouernour*; who went soone ashoare, and as soone, contrary to all our faire hopes, had new, v unexpected, vnecomfortable, and heauie Newes, of a worse condition of our People aboue, at *James Towne*...

If I should be * examined from whence, and by

what occasion, all these disasters and afflictions descended upon our People, I can only referre you, Honoured Ladie, to the Booke, which the Aduentures haue sent hither, intituled, *Aduertisements vnto the Colony in Virginia*: wherein the ground and causes are fauorably abridged, from whence these miserable effects haue been produced; not excusing likewise the forme of Gouvernment of some error, which was not powerfull enough among so headie a multitude; especially, as those who arriued here in the supply, sent the last Yeere with vs: with whom the better authoritie, and gouernment, now changed into an absolute command, came along; and had beene as happily established, had it pleased God, that wee, with them, had reached our wished Harbour.—

Purchas then proceeds to enter into details respecting the Gouvernment of *Virginia*; which, however curious, are foreign to our present Subject. He also subjoins some * Relations of the *Summer*, or *Bermuda Islands*, “taken out of Master *R. Norwood*; his Map and Notes, added thereto, printed 1622, being enlarged out of *Capt. Smith's* written Relations.” And then concludes the ninth Book of his *Pilgrimes*, with a devout enthusiasm peculiar to his character: “Be thou the *Alpha*, and *Omega* of *England's* Plantation in *Virginia*, O God!”

* Page 1796—1805. See also his “*Virginias Verger*, or a Discourse shewing the Benefit which may grow to this Kingdome from *American English* Plantations, and specially those of *Virginia*, and *Summer Island*.” (Page 1809.)

SECTION IV.

Shipwreck of the Captains, James Knight, George Barlow, and David Vaughan, on Marble Island in Hudson's Bay, 1719. Extracted from Hearne's Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort in Hudson Bay, to the Northern Ocean, for the Discovery of Copper Mines, and a North West Passage, 1769—1772.*

THE Natives who range over, rather than inhabit, the large track of Land which lies to the North of *Churchill River*, having repeatedly brought samples of Copper to the Company's Factory, many of our People conjectured that it was found not far from our Settlements; and, as the *Indians* informed them that the Mines were not very distant from a large River, it was generally supposed that this River must empty itself into *Hudson's Bay*: as they could by no means think, that any set of People, however wandering their manner of life might be, could ever traverse so large a track of Country, as to pass the Northern Boundary of that Bay, and particularly without the assistance of water-

* Introduction, page 23, printed for A. Strahan and T. Cadell, in a quarto Volume, 1795.

carriage. The following Journal, however, will show how much those People have been mistaken ; and prove also the improbability, of putting their favourite scheme of Mining into practice.

The accounts of this grand River, which some have turned into a Strait, together with the samples of Copper, were brought to the Company's Factory at *Churchill River*, immediately after its first establishment, in the year 1715 ; and it does not appear, that any attempts were made to discover either the River, or Mines, till the Year 1719 : when the Company fitted out a Ship, called the *Albany Frigate*, Captain *George * Barlow*, and a Sloop called the *Discovery*, Captain *David Vaughan*. The sole command of this Expedition, however, was given to Mr. *James Knight*, a Man of great experience in the Company's Service, who had been many Years Governor at the different Factories in the Bay, and who had made the first Settlement at *Churchill River*. Notwithstanding the experience Mr. *Knight* might have had of the Company's Business, and his knowledge of those Parts, of the Bay where he had resided, it cannot be supposed he was well acquainted with the nature of the Business in which he then engaged ; having nothing to direct him but the slender and imperfect Accounts

* Captain *Barlow* was Governor of *Albany Fort*, when the French went overland from *Canada* to besiege it, in 1704.

which he had received from the *Indians*, who at that time were little known, and less understood.

These disadvantages, added to his advanced age, he being then near eighty, by no means discouraged this bold Adventurer; who was so prepossessed of his success, and of the great advantage that would arise from his Discoveries, that he procured, and took with him, some large iron-bound Chests, to hold Gold Dust, and other Valuables, which he fondly flattered himself were to be found in those Parts.

The first Paragraph of the Company's Orders to Mr. *Knight*, on this occasion, appears to be as follows :

“ *To Captain James Knight.*

“ Sir,

4th June, 1719.

“ From the experience we have had of your abilities in the management of our Affairs, we have, upon your application to us, fitted out the *Albany Frigate*, Captain *George Barlow*, and the *Discovery*, Captain *David Vaughan* Commander, upon a discovery to the Northward; and to that end have given you power, and authority, to act and do all things relating to the said Voyage, the Navigation of the said Ship, and Sloop, only excepted; and have given Orders and Instructions to our said Commanders, for that purpose.

“ You are, with the first opportunity of Wind

and Weather, to depart from *Gravesend* on your intended Voyage ; and by God's permission, to find out the *Straits of Anian*, in order to discover Gold, and other valuable Commodities, to the Northward, &c. &c."

Mr. *Knight* soon left *Gravesend*, and proceeded on his Voyage ; but the Ship not returning to *England* that Year, as was expected, it was judged that she had wintered in *Hudson's Bay* ; and having on board a good stock of Provisions, a House in Frame, together with all necessary Mechanics, and a great Assortment of Trading Goods ; little or no thoughts were entertained of their not being in safety : but as neither Ship, nor Sloop, returned to *England* in the following Year, 1720, the Company were much alarmed for their welfare ; and, by their Ship, which went to *Churchill* in the Year 1721, they sent Orders for a Sloop called the *Whale-Bone*, *John Scroggs* Master, to go in search of them ; but the Ship not arriving in *Churchill*, till late in the Year, those Orders could not be put in execution till the Summer following, 1722.

The North West Coast of *Hudson's Bay* being little known in those days, and Mr. *Scroggs* finding himself greatly embarrassed with Shoals and Rocks ; returned to *Prince of Wales's Fort*, without making any certain Discovery respecting the above Ship or Sloop : for all the marks he saw among the *Esquimaux* at *Whale Cove*, scarcely amounted to

the Spoils which might have been made from a trifling accident, and consequently could not be considered as signs of a total Shipwreck.

The strong Opinion which then prevailed in Europe, respecting the probability of a N.W. Passage by the way of *Hudson's Bay*; made many conjecture, that Messrs. *Knight* and *Barlow*, had found that Passage, and had gone through it into the South Sea, by the way of *California*. Many Years elapsed without any other convincing proof occurring to the contrary, except that *Middleton*, *Ellis*, *Bean*, *Christopher*, and *Johnston*, had not been able to find any Passage. And notwithstanding a Sloop was annually sent to the Northward on Discovery, and to trade with the *Esquimaux*, it was the Summer of 1767, before we had positive proofs, that poor Mr. *Knight*, and Captain *Barlow*, had been lost in *Hudson's Bay*.

The Company were now carrying on a black Whale Fishery, and *Marble Island* was made the place of rendezvous; not only on account of the commodiousness of the Harbour, but because it had been observed, that the Whales were more plentiful about that Island, than on any other part of the Coast. This being the case, the Boats, when on the look-out for Fish, had frequent occasion to row close to the Island; by which means they discovered a new Harbour near the East end of it, at the head of which they found Guns, Anchors, Cables,

Bricks, a Smith's Anvil, and many other Articles, which the hand of Time had not defaced ; and which being of no use to the Natives, or too heavy to be removed by them, had not been taken from the place in which they were originally laid. The remains of the House, though pulled to pieces by the *Esquimaux* for the Wood and Iron, are yet very plain to be seen ; as also the Hulls, or more properly speaking, the Bottoms of the Ship and Sloop, which lie sunk in about five fathoms Water, toward the head of the Harbour. The figure Head of the Ship, and also the Guns, &c. were sent home to the Company ; and are certain proofs, that Messrs. *Knight* and * *Barlow* had been lost on that inhospitable Island, where neither Stick nor Stump was to be seen, and which lies near sixteen Miles from the Main Land. Indeed the Main is little better, being a jumble of barren Hills and Rocks, destitute of every kind of Herbage except Moss and Grass ; and at that part, the Woods are several hundreds of Miles from the Sea Side.

In the Summer of 1769, while we were prosecuting the Fishery, we saw several *Esquimaux* at this new Harbour ; and perceiving that one or two of them were greatly advanced in Years, our Curiosity was excited to ask them some questions con-

* The name of Captain *Vaughan* is not once repeated, after his appointment.

cerning the above Ship and Sloop; which we were the better enabled to do by the assistance of an *Esquimaux*, who was then in the Company's Service as a Linguist, and annually sailed in one of their Vessels in that Character. The account which we received from them was full, clear, and unreserved; and the sum of it was to the following purport:

When the Vessels arrived at this place, (*Marble Island*,) it was very late in the Fall; and in getting them into the Harbour, the largest received much damage; but, on being fairly in, the *English* began to build the House, their number at that time seeming to be about fifty. As soon as the Ice permitted, in the following Summer, 1720, the *Esquimaux* paid them another visit, by which time the number of the *English* was greatly reduced; and those that were living seemed very unhealthy. According to the account given by the *Esquimaux*, they were then very busily employed, but about what, they could not easily describe; probably in lengthening the Long Boat: for at a little distance from the House, there is now lying a great quantity of Oak Chips, which have been most assuredly made by Carpenters.

Sickness, and Famine, occasioned such havoc among the *English*, that by the setting in of the second Winter, their number was reduced to twenty. That Winter, 1720, some of the *Esquimaux* took up their abode on the opposite side of the Harbour,

to that on which the *English* had built their * Houses ; and frequently supplied them with such Provisions as they had, which chiefly consisted of Whales' Blubber, and Seals' Flesh, and train Oil. When the Spring advanced, the *Esquimaux* went to the Continent, and on their visiting *Marble Island* again, in the Summer of 1721, they only found five of the *English* alive ; and these were in such distress for Provisions, that they eagerly ate the Seals' Flesh and Whales' Blubber quite raw ; as they purchased it from the Natives. This disordered them so much, that three of them died in a few days ; and the other two, though very weak, made a shift to bury them. Those two survived many days after the rest ; and frequently went to the top of an adjacent Rock, and earnestly looked to the South and East, as if in expectation of some Vessel's coming to their relief. After continuing there a considerable time, and nothing appearing in sight, they sat down close together, and wept bitterly. At length one of the two

* I have seen the remains of those Houses several Times ; they are on the West Side of the Harbour, and in all probability will be discernible for many Years to come. It is rather surprising that neither *Middleton*, *Ellis*, *Christopher*, *Johaston*, nor *Garbet*, who have all of them been at *Marble Island*, and some of them often, never discovered this Harbour ; particularly the last-mentioned Gentleman, who actually sailed quite round the Island in a very fine pleasant day, in the Summer of 1766. But this Discovery was reserved for a Mr. *Joseph Stephens*, a Man of the least merit I ever knew, though he then had the command of a Vessel called the *Success*, employed in the Whale Fishery ; and in the Year 1769, had the command of the *Charlotte* given to him, a fine Brig of one hundred tons, when I was his Mate.

died ; and the other's strength was so exhausted, that he fell down, and died also, in attempting to dig a Grave for his Companion. The Skulls, and other large bones of those two Men, are now lying above ground close to the House. The longest liver was, according to the *Esquimaux Account*, always employed in working of Iron into implements for them : probably he was the Armourer, or Smith.

SECTION V.

Loss of His Majesty's Ship LA TRIBUNE, Captain S. Barker, off the Harbour of Hallifax in America, 1797.

LA TRIBUNE was one of the finest Frigates in His Majesty's Service, mounted forty-four Guns, and had been lately captured by Captain *Williams* in the *Unicorn Frigate*. She was commanded by Captain *S. Barker*, and sailed from *Torbay* the 22d of September, 1797, as Convoy to the *Quebec*, and *Newfoundland Fleets*. In Latitude $49^{\circ} 14'$, Longitude $17^{\circ} 22'$, she fell in, and spoke with His Majesty's Ship *Experiment*, from *Hallifax*, out twelve days. She lost sight of all her Convoy, October 10, in Latitude $46^{\circ} 16'$, Longitude $32^{\circ} 11'$. On Thursday Morning they discovered the Harbour of *Hallifax*, about eight o'Clock, and the Wind being E.S.E, they approached it very fast: when Captain *Barker* proposed to the Master to lay the Ship to, until they could obtain a Pilot. The Master replied, *That he had beat a forty-four Gun Ship into the Harbour; that he had been frequently there, nor was there any occasion for a Pilot, as the Wind was favourable.* Confiding in these as-

surances, Captain *Barker* went below, and was for a time employed in arranging some Papers, he wished to take on Shore with him: the Master in the mean time taking upon him the Pilotage of the Ship, and placing great dependance on the Judgment of a Negro, by the name of *John Cosey*, who had formerly belonged to *Hallifax*.

About twelve o'clock the Ship had approached so near the *Thrum Cap* Shoals, that the Master became alarmed, and sent for Mr. *Galvin*, the Master's Mate, who was sick below. On his coming upon Deck, he heard the Man in the Chains sing out, *By the Mark five!* the black Man forward, at the same time singing out, *Steady!* *Galvin* got on one of the Carronades, to observe the situation of the Ship. The Master, in much agitation, ran up to the Wheel, and took it from the Man who was steering, with an intent to wear the Ship; but before this could be effected, or *Galvin* was able to give an opinion, * she struck! Captain *Barker* instantly came on Deck, and reproached the Master with having lost his Ship. Seeing *Galvin* also, he thus addressed him, *As you have formerly sailed out of this very Harbour, - I am the more astonished, that you could stand by, and see this Misery brought upon us.* *Galvin* only replied,

* Thus have we already two instances of Ships being lost (see preceeding page 45) by the obstinacy, and ignorance of their Masters.

That he had not been long enough on Deck to give an Opinion.

Signals of distress were immediately made, and answered by the military Posts, and the Ships in the Harbour; Boats from all these Posts, as well as from His Majesty's Ships, and the Dock Yard, proceeded to the relief of *La Tribune*. The military Boats, and the Boats from the Dock Yard, with Mr. *Rackum*, Boatswain of the *Ordinary*, reached the Ship; but the other Boats, though making the greatest exertions, were not able, the Wind being so much against them, to get on board. The Ship was immediately lightened by throwing all her Guns, excepting one retained for Signals, overboard, and every other heavy Article; so that about half past eight o'clock in the Evening, the Ship began to heave, and about nine, she got off from the Shoals.

She had before, at about five or six o'clock, lost her Rudder; and on examination it was now found, she had seven feet water in the Hold! The Chain-pumps were immediately manned, and such exertions made, that they seemed to gain on the Leaks; and by the advice of Mr. *Rackum*, the Captain ordered to let go the best bower Anchor. This was done; but it did not bring her up. The Captain then ordered them to cut the Cable; and the Jib, and Fore-top-mast Stay-Sail were hoisted to steer by. All this time, the violent Gale which had come on from the

S.E. kept increasing, and carrying them to the Western Shore. In a short time the smaller bower Anchor was let go ; at which time they found themselves in about thirteen fathom Water. The Mizzen Mast was then cut away.

It was now about ten o'clock ; and the Water gaining fast upon them, little hope remained of saving the Ship, or their Lives. At this critical moment Lieutenant *Campbell* quitted the Ship. Lieutenant *North* was taken into the Boat out of one of the Ports ; Lieutenant *James*, of the Royal *Nova Scotia* Regiment, not being to be found, was so unfortunate as to remain ; and, to the great distress of his worthy Parents and Friends, shared the general fate. From the period when Lieutenant *Campbell* quitted the Ship, all hopes of safety had vanished : the Ship was sinking fast ; the Gale was increasing with redoubled violence ; and the rocky Shore to which they were approaching, resounding with the tremendous noise of the Billows, which rolled towards it, presented nothing to those who might survive the Calamity, but the expectation of a more painful Death ; from being dashed against those tremendous Precipices, which, even in the calmest day, it is almost impossible to ascend.

Dunlap, one of the Survivors, declared, that at about half past ten, as nearly as he could conjecture, one of the Men, who had been below, came to him on the Forecastle, and told him, it was all over !

In a few minutes after, the Ship took a Lurch, as a Boat will, when nearly filled with Water, and going down: on which *Dunlap* immediately began to ascend the fore Shrouds; and at the same moment, casting his eyes towards the Quarter Deck, saw Captain *Barker* standing by the Gangway, and looking into the Water; and directly after, heard him call for the Jolly-Boat: at the same time, he saw the Lieutenant of Marines running towards the Taffrail, and, as he supposed, to look for the Jolly-Boat; as she had been previously let down with Men in her: but instantly the Ship took a second Lurch, and sunk.

The Scene, sufficiently distressing before, became now peculiarly awful. More than two hundred and forty Men, besides several Women and Children, were floating on the Waves, making a last effort to preserve their existence. *Dunlap*, whom we have before mentioned, gained the Fore-top. Mr. *Galvin*, the Master's Mate, after incredible difficulty, got into the Main-top: he was below when the Ship sunk, directing the Men at the Chain Pumps; but was washed up into the Hatch-way, thrown into the Waste, and from thence into the Water; and his Feet, as he plunged, struck a Rock. On ascending, he swam to gain the Main Shrouds, when he was suddenly seized hold of by three Men. He now thought he was lost. To disengage himself from them, he made a dive into the Water, which

induced them to quit their hold. On rising again, he swam to the Shrouds, and arriving at the Main-top, seated himself on an Arm Chest which was lashed to the Mast. From the observations of Mr. *Galvin* from the Main-top, and Mr. *Danlap* in the Fore-top, it appears, that near one hundred persons were for a considerable time hanging to the Shrouds, the Tops, and other parts of the Wreck ; but, from the extreme length of the Night, and the severity of the Gale, Nature became exhausted, and they kept dropping off, and disappearing.

The Cries and Groans of the unhappy Sufferers, from the Bruises many of them had received, and as their hopes of Deliverance began to fail, were continued through the Night: as Morning appeared, from the few that then remained, these horrid shrieks gradually abated. The whole number saved from the Wreck, amounted only to eight persons ; and some of these were so exhausted, as to have become indifferent to their fate. According to Mr. *Galvin*, about twelve o'clock the Main-mast came by the board ; at which time, he thought there were on the Main-top, and on the Shrouds, upwards of forty Persons. By the fall of the Mast the whole were again plunged into the Sea ; of which number only nine, besides himself, regained the Top, which rested upon the Main-yard and the whole remained fast to the Ship by some Rigging. Of these ten Persons, who regained the Top, four only were

alive when the Morning appeared. At that time ten were alive on the Fore-top; but three of them were so exhausted, and had become so unable to help themselves, that before any relief came they were washed away: three others perished; and thus four only were finally left in the Fore-top.

The place where the Ship went down, was barely about three times her length, to the southward of the entrance into *Herring Cove*. The People came down in the Night, to the Point, opposite to which the Ship sunk, and kept large Fires, and were so near as to hear the People on the Wreck.

The first exertion that was made for their relief, was by a Boy only thirteen Years old, from *Herring Cove*; who ventured off in a small Skiff by himself, about eleven o'clock the next day. This enterprising Boy, with great exertions, and at extreme risk to himself, boldly approached the Wreck; and backed in his little Boat so near to the Fore-top, as to take off two of the Men: for the Boat could not with safety hold any more; and here an instance of magnanimity occurred, which is so eminent in *British Seamen*:—*Dunlap* and *Munroe*, throughout this disastrous Night, had providentially preserved their strength and spirits beyond their unfortunate Companions, and endeavoured to cheer and encourage them, as their spirits failed. They now were both enabled to step to the Boat, and thus to terminate their own

sufferings: but their two Shipmates, though alive, were unable to help themselves; lying exhausted on the Top, begging not to be disturbed, and seeming desirous of Death. Their generous Companions hesitated not a moment to remain themselves on the Wreck: by the greatest exertions they at length got their Shipmates into the little Skiff, and the *manly Boy* rowed them in triumph to the Cove, and instantly had them conveyed to a comfortable Habitation.

After thus shaming by his Example older Persons, who had larger Boats, this Boy put off again in his Skiff; but with all his efforts could not now approach the Wreck. His resolution, however, had called forth some energy from those around: he was soon followed by the *Tribune's* Jolly-Boat, and by some of the Boats in the Cove. By their joint Exertions the eight Men were preserved; who, with the four that escaped in the Jolly-Boat, made the whole number of Survivors of the Ship's Company.

An Instance of composure occurred, which, though it may appear unnatural, after the distressing Scene I have related, is so descriptive of that cool thoughtlessness of danger, which distinguishes our *British* Tars, that it would be inexcusable to omit it. *Daniel Munroe*, one of the Survivors, had, as well as *Dunlap*, got into the Fore-top: when suddenly he disappeared, and it was concluded that he had been

washed away with many others ; but lo ! after an absence from the Top of about two hours, he raised his Head through the Lubber's Hole, to the surprise of *Dunlap*, who inquired where he had been ? *Been ! why I have been cruising, d'ye see, in search of a better Birth.* After swimming about the Wreck for a considerable time, he had returned to the Fore-shrouds ; and crawling in on the Cat-harpins, had actually been sleeping there more than an hour ; and really appeared to be greatly refreshed.

Thus does the Mariner conquer even the Infirmities of his Nature ; and by the discipline of the Mind, which his Profession affords, preserve his serenity on that Abyss, which *Dr. Young* so justly styled,

“ Death's Capital ! where most he domineers.”

CHAPTER IV.

NORTH ATLANTIC.

*Abstract * of the Adventures, Shipwreck, and Distresses of Monsieur Pierre Viaud, a Captain in the French Service, and a Native of Bourdeaux, 1766. In a Letter to a Friend. Translated from the † Original, by Mrs. Griffith. 8vo. 4s. Davies. 1771.*

(I.) CERTIFICATE BY LIEUTENANT SWETTENHAM
TO MONSIEUR VIAUD.

I, THE undersigned *George Swettenham*, Lieutenant of the ninth Regiment of Foot, in the Service of His Britannic Majesty, and Commander of the *Fort St. Mark*, in the *Apalachian Mountains*, do

* This Abstract is the more necessary, as *Mrs. Griffith* has loaded her Translation by tedious and unnecessary Reflections. Her Language also sometimes admits of a little alteration.

† The Original of this singular Book I could never meet with, and even the Translation is become rather scarce. A small Edition, wretchedly printed, appeared in 1798. For some account of this Translation, see *Monthly Review*, 1771,

Whereby certify : That on the information of a Savage, who had reported his having met with a dead Body on a Strand, about forty Miles from hence ; and having strong reasons to think a Ship had been wrecked on that Coast, which I feared was one that I had expected for some time before, and had received no account of ; I detached four Soldiers, with my Interpreter, under the command of Mr. Wright, Ensign in the same Corps, to visit that Coast, and succour all those that he might meet with in any distress.

Mr. Wright, on his return, presented the Bearer, *le Sieur Fiaud*, and a Woman of the same Nation, to me ; whom he had found on a desert Coast, in the most deplorable situation, almost famished with hunger : having nothing to subsist on but a few Oysters, and some fragments of a Negro, whom they had been reduced to the necessity of slaying for Food.

Le Sieur Fiaud informs me, that he is a Sea Captain, and an Officer in The Blues, in the service of the French King ; that a Savage he had met with, and who undertook to conduct him to *St. Mark*,

(Vol. xlii, page 421,) and *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1771, (Vol. xli, page 173.) Amidst the variety of Shipwrecks which I have perused, *Fiaud's* affecting, and dreadful Narrative, made the most permanent impression on my Mind. But the Certificate, annexed by *Lieutenant Swettenham*, was absolutely requisite, to silence the occasional Scepticism of the Reader.

had robbed him of what Effects he happened to have saved from a Shipwreck, and fled away, during the Night, in his Canoe, leaving him and some other Companions on a desert Island.

Mr. *Wright*, also, presented to me a young Man, son to the Woman above mentioned, whom he had found in another desert Island, in a more desperate condition than the former Persons: as it was impossible he could have existed an hour longer without his assistance; having neither Food, nor Sense, nor Motion left, when we found him.

The shocking Situation they were all three in, upon his first meeting with them; their extreme weakness, and some particulars I have since been informed of, from some Savages; sufficiently prove, that the story told me by *le Sieur Viaud*, of his having been pillaged, and betrayed, in the manner above mentioned, is true.

On the credit of which, I give this Certificate to the said *Sieur Viaud*, who means to set out for *St. Augustine* by the first opportunity, and to go from thence into some of the *French Colonies*.

GEORGE SWETTENHAM.

Fort St. Mark, May 12th, 1766.

(II.) PREFACE BY THE FRENCH EDITOR.

THE Adventures of *Monsieur Viaud* must interest every sensible and humane Mind. The Reader will be astonished at the shocking Miseries he sustained, during the space of eighty-one days; from the 16th of February 1766, to the 8th of May following.

Every article in this relation is sufficiently attested. *Monsieur Viaud* is alive, in perfect health, and much esteemed by all who know him. His good Character, with his knowledge in Maritime Affairs, has obtained him the perfect confidence of the most eminent Merchants. He has published these Adventures with his Name affixed to them; and the Manuscript is entirely in his own hand, except a few alterations which I have taken the liberty of making in some of his Words and Expressions: in compliance with certain difficult Readers, whom the simple, and sometimes coarse stile of a Mariner, might perhaps offend.

But I have carefully preserved all his Ideas, his Reflections, and his manner of expressing them. I have preferred, to a more critical correctness, that sailorly roughness, if I may hazard the Phrase, which is not however without its merit; and which carries with it an air of sincerity, and frankness, that must ever be listened to with pleasure.

The Misfortunes of *Monsieur Viaud* have no occasion for any adventitious recommendations ; but you are not to expect his Life in these Pages : they contain only an account of his Shipwreck, and the Perils, Wants, and Miseries, which were the consequence of it.

Monsieur Viaud is a Sea-Captain, and has been acknowledged in that rank, at the Admiralty Office of *Marennnes*, in the month of October, 1761.

(III.) EXTRACT FROM THE PREFACE, BY THE
TRANSLATOR.

THE Work here offered to the Public, is certainly the most incredible Story that ever was authenticated : and yet that the Facts are undoubtedly true, every intelligent Reader must be sufficiently assured on the perusal of the whole. For, independent of the opinion, which we must be led to conceive of the Writer's veracity, from the ingenuousness of his Stile, there are concurrent and corroborating circumstances enough, which the Author had no power over ; to evince the truth of his Narrative.

No Book can be worth reading that does not afford some subject matter for Reflection ; and I think I may venture to say, that the following Pages must necessarily inspire the most timid and desponding Mind, with a thorough reliance on Providence, from the almost visible interposition of its Divine

Care, in the preservation of these three Persons' lives; while their amazing deliverance amounts almost to a proof, that Patience, Resolution, and Perseverance, are a match for difficulty and danger, and are sometimes able to combat Death itself.

The Original of this Work ran through several Editions in *France*, where it was universally received, not as a Romance, but as a Series of surprising, interesting, and extraordinary Facts; and was bought up with so much avidity, that the Gentleman, who was so obliging as to lend the Book to me, could not procure another for himself.

(IV.) VIAUD'S LETTER TO HIS FRIEND.

My dear Friend,

(I.) YOU have suffered much anxiety about me of late: you concluded, as well as my whole Family, that I had perished in my last Voyage. The concern of Friends serves to console me for my Miseries; and I rejoice in the miraculous preservation of life, for the sole satisfaction of being beloved. I cannot reflect on the Misfortunes I have endured, without the severest shock. I am myself equally astonished, with the rest of the World, how it was possible for me to have survived those wants, those dangers, and those difficulties; which I am going to relate. You are not to expect Order or Method

in my Story. I have lost most of the Dates : for how could they have engaged my attention ? During the space of two Months my oppressed Soul was incapable of receiving any other idea, but that of the utmost Sorrow. I can recollect but little more at present than that I have been miserable. I am but little used to writing : you must not therefore expect to meet with elegance in my stile ; in which you will find nothing but the frank Language of a Sailor.

I sailed from *Bourdeaux* in the month of February, 1765, on board the good Ship *l'Aimable Suzette*, commanded by *Monsieur St. Crie*, and I arrived at *St. Domingo* without any untoward accident. The business of Commerce occupied my whole attention while I remained there. I then prepared to return to *France*, and the day was fixed, when I fell sick about a week previous to our setting sail. Imputing my illness merely to the Climate, I persuaded myself that my health would return on quitting the Island. Upon this presumption I embarked with my friends ; but increased my disorder so much, that the Captain assured me I could not pursue the Voyage without manifest peril of my Life. I consented to be put any where on Shore ; but as they could not turn back again to *St. Domingo*, they landed me at the **key* of *St.*

* The *West India* Seamen thus denominate all Shoals and banks of Land ; but it would seem that in this Passage the word should be rather *Quay*.

Louis, a small Island in view of it, some time in the Month of November. Some days rest at *St. Louis*, with the kind attention of *Monsieur Desclau*, an inhabitant of that place, who had given me an apartment in his House, soon restored me to my health. I waited with impatience for some opportunity of returning to *Europe*, but none occurred; and at length I agreed to a proposal of *Monsieur Desclau*, which I knew to be dictated by Friendship, that we should make a Voyage in Partnership to *Louisiana*, with such commodities as he was assured from experience would produce a good profit.

We hired a Brigantine called the *Tyger*, commanded by *Monsieur la Couture*, and the Ship was freighted with all possible dispatch. On the second of January, 1766, we embarked, sixteen in number; namely, the Captain, his Wife, their Son, his Mate, nine Sailors, *Monsieur Desclau*, a Negro whom I had purchased as a Slave, and myself. Bad Weather and contrary Winds delayed and distressed us in our Course, until the 26th of January, when we had a view of the *Isle of Pines*, toward the West of *Cuba*, which our Captain affirmed to be the Cape of *St. Anthony*. I took the elevation, and soon perceived that he was mistaken: but I tried in vain to convince him of his Error; for he still continued obstinate, and drove us among the Rocks, where we were hemmed in. I perceived our situation by the light of the Moon, in

the middle of the Night. The danger pressed: I supplied the office of Mate, who happened to be ill; and made them tack about. This succeeded, and we got clear.

Our Vessel, from the violent working of the Sea, having become leaky in several places, the Crew called on me to take the command: but I thought proper to leave to the Captain the conduct of his own Vessel, and contented myself with watching his manœuvres. At length we doubled the *Cape of St. Anthony*, and entered the *Gulph of Florida*; but our Vessel was now become so leaky, that the incessant working of two Pumps could scarcely keep her above Water. The Wind continued contrary, the Sea got up, and we were threatened with a violent Gale. The terror became general. In this situation, on the 10th of February, about seven in the Evening, we fell in with a *Spanish Frigate*, coming from the *Havana*, which was carrying the Governor and Commissioned Officers to take possession of the *Mississippi*. They hailed us to join Company, but we parted from her in the Night.

In the Morning our Vessel had sprung a fresh Leak. I immediately advised lightening the Ship; and got large lading Pails, made of the Barrel Staves in which our Merchandize had been packed. But the Water still gained upon us: so that finding it impossible to keep the Sea for any length of

Time, we took the resolution to stand in for *Mobile*, the only Harbour which the Wind would suffer us to stand for : but in the course of two hours it shifted against us ; and after several ineffectual attempts to reach *Pensacola*, we agreed to run the Vessel ashore in the *Bay of Apalachy*. But we were not able to accomplish even this desperate resolution ; and we continued beating about from the 12th to the 16th of February ; when in the Evening, about seven o'clock, we struck on a chain of Rocks above two Leagues from Land. The Shocks were so violent, that they opened the stern of the Ship ; in which condition we remained for half an hour, under the greatest terror and alarm ; until by the force of repeated Waves, we drove over the Reef, and were exposed, without our Rudder, to the Sea, which burst in upon us with increased fury. The Wind carried us towards the Land ; and I continued to steer, by means of our Fore-sail, to the East side of an Island, which we neared about nine o'clock that very Night.

We were prepared to cut away our Masts, and to lash them together for a Float, when the violence of the Wind and Sea upset the Vessel on its larboard Side, and threw us overboard : the greater part, however, had recovered the Wreck, when the Moon, which until this moment had lent us a feeble Light, occasionally interrupted by the Clouds, now left us suddenly in darkness. All attempts to

reach the Land were at an end, and we passed the Night holding on upon the outside of the Hull.

What an age of Night we passed ! A deluge of Rain poured on us the whole Time. The Thunder was loud and frequent ; and the thick intervals of Lightning served only to open the horrid prospect of a boundless Horizon and a devouring Sea.

At length we perceived the Morning's Dawn ; but our situation appeared still more tremendous. We were not far from Land, but it was impossible to reach it : the Waves ran mountains high. At this sight the whole Crew were seized with Despair, and their groans, heard amidst the violence of the Tempest, were redoubled.

Several hours had passed thus, without bringing any Change, when a *Dutch* Sailor, who had been the londest in his cries, suddenly ceased his lamentations ; and after keeping silence for some minutes, raised up his head with an extraordinary emotion, exclaiming with the madness of Despair, *What are we waiting for ? Death surrounds us on all Sides ! Let us meet him in the Deep ! Perhaps if we face him, he will fly. The Land is in view !* At these Words he plunged into the Sea ; and many, animated by his Example, would have followed, if I had not with the utmost difficulty restrained them. I pointed out their Shipmate combating in vain against the Waves : now hurried forward so as almost to touch the Shore, and then washed back

into the Sea, and appearing again only to be dashed against the Rocks. This shocking object struck them with so much horror, that their desire of making the attempt abated.

The Day being now near closing, we reflected with terror on the last Night, and trembled at that which was to come. The Masts and Cordage, which we had collected together for a Raft, had been washed away. We had indeed a wretched Boat, but in no condition to weather the short passage between us and the Land. We had several Times examined it with this view, and as often condemned it. Three of our Sailors, however, resolved to take their chance in this rotten Sieve: they launched it privately into the Sea; and the first knowledge we had of it was from seeing them at some distance, in such a situation as made us give them over for lost. At last, contrary to all hope, we saw them arrive safe on the Shore.

Night now deprived us of the sight of our happy Shipmates; and was even more terrible to us than the former. The Fatigue was the same; and the exhausted state we were reduced to by our past labour, left us hardly power to sustain the present. The Vessel being stranded among Rocks some fathoms under Water, was so violently dashed against them all the while, by the force of the Waves, as to shake her whole frame; and we expected every minute to have her open and separate.

The next Morning, the 18th of February, we beheld the Sun rise, a sight we had absolutely despaired of when we saw it setting. Our first emotion was to return thanks to Heaven, and to petition Providence to afford us some means of escaping to the Shore. When the Wind had begun to abate a little, and the Sea to subside, one of our Sailors, who was a remarkable good Swimmer, resolved to attempt the Passage; that he might endeavour, with the other three, to caulk the Boat, and bring off the remainder of the Crew. We gave him all our Handkerchiefs, and what Line we could get at, to serve instead of Oakum; which he fastened about his Waist, and instantly plunged into the Sea. We saw him several Times on the point of perishing, and at length to reach the Shore, after infinite dangers.

It was now about seven o'clock in the Morning. We waited impatiently the moment of our deliverance, and never turned our eyes an instant from the Land. The four Sailors were all busy about the Boat, and we seconded their labours by our Prayers. They seemed to proceed but slowly in their Work; when at length, about three o'clock in the Afternoon, we saw the Boat launched and approach our Vessel. It could not contain above a third part of our number; but no one would consent to wait for a second Passage. Those who had brought the Boat, insisted that I should take ad-

vantage of the first opportunity. I intreated silence for a moment, *Let us determine the first Passengers by Lot; and to convince those who may be left behind, that Hope still remains with me, I promise to be the last Person that shall quit the Wreck.* This resolution surprised and silenced them. Of the eleven that were clinging to the Vessel, four were taken in, and delivered safe by the other four, who returned immediately for four more.

While they were coming towards us, I happened to perceive the Stern of our Vessel so loosened, that by the help of *Monsieur Desclau* and my Negro, I separated it entirely. This appeared to me as good as a Canoe to carry us ashore. *Monsieur Desclau* being of the same opinion, we ventured upon it immediately, accompanied by the Negro. The remaining four got into the Boat, and happily arrived at the same point of Land a short time after. The Oysters which we found on the Coast furnished us with a delicious repast; and we passed a peaceable Night in a profound sleep, uninterrupted by disagreeable ideas about our further deliverance. The Mate, who had fallen sick a few days after we sailed, and who with extreme difficulty had quitted his bed when the Vessel struck, happened to be one of the first Passengers in the Boat. But fear, which had lent him such powers, rendered him weaker when the danger was over. He was the only one of us who found no rest: but he suffered

without complaint. When Day-light had roused us from Sleep, I went to inquire how he was, and found him in his last Moments. He began to rave soon after, and drew his last breath before us. We contrived with extreme labour to dig a Grave for him in the Sand : his name was *Dutrouche*.

After the performance of this mournful office, we walked along the Shore, and saw some of our Trunks, several Casks of *Tafia*, a sort of *American* liquor, and many Bales of Merchandize, thrown by the Tide upon the Coast. We tried the method, said to be used by the Savages, of kindling a Fire by rubbing two Sticks against each other : but the experiment failed.

(II.) The Sea by this time having become almost calm, I formed the resolution of going aboard our Vessel, by means of the shattered Boat. I applied to two of the Sailors, whom I knew to be good Swimmers, to go along with me ; but the proposition made them shudder. They had not so soon forgot their sufferings on the side of the Vessel : many of them endeavoured to dissuade me from my purpose. I rebuked them for their timidity, and ran into the Boat.

I arrived safe at the Ship, where the Sea having subsided, had left some part of the Deck uncovered. I moored the Boat, and got into the Vessel with some difficulty : it was deep in Water, and obliged me sometimes to wade up to my Breast. The arti-

cles I was in quest of were not easily found, for every thing had been overturned by the many shocks the Vessel had undergone. I had the good fortune however to find a small barrel of Gunpowder, about twenty-five pounds in weight; which happened to be in a place above the Water. I recovered also six fusils, a parcel of Indian Handkerchiefs, several Blankets, a Sack with between thirty and forty pounds weight of Biscuit, and two Hatchets, which were all I was able to carry away.

I returned to the Island with my little Cargo, and was received with a general shout of Joy. The first thing I did was to get a parcel of dry wood, of which there was plenty on the Coast, and have a large fire kindled. We employed ourselves in drying our Clothes, and the Blankets I had brought from the Ship. I then ordered some fresh Water from a Spring, to steep our Biscuit, which had been drenched in the Sea. This Water was extremely brackish; but as it was not bitter, we corrected it with some of the *Tafia*: I have since learned that the Island abounds with clear Springs. I happened luckily to have some Pounds of small Shot in my Cloak-bag, with some of which, and a portion of Gunpowder, I provided two of our best Marksmen; who returned to us in about an hour with half a dozen Wild Fowl, which abound on that Coast.

They supplied us with an excellent Meal. We

then passed the Night round our Fire, wrapped up in our dry Cloathing, warm and comfortable. The next day, the 20th of February, we began to consider what we had further to provide for: the several immediate occupations of the day before had so engrossed our whole attention, that we had not leisure to reflect on what was hereafter to become of us. We knew that the Inhabitants of the *Apalachian Coast* forsake the Villages, during the Winter Season, and resort to the neighbouring Islands, where they follow the Chace until the beginning of *April*. It might possibly happen that we should be surprised by a Troop of those Savages, at a time when we were not prepared for them. We were afraid also that the Casks of *Tafia*, lying on the Coast, might fall into their hands; and meeting us when they were intoxicated, they might massacre the whole Party out of mere stupid Brutality. We immediately staved all the Casks, except three, which we hid in a Wood, and buried under the Sand.

The 22d of February, in the Morning, the sixth day from our Shipwreck, our whole Troop, fatigued with the duty of the Night, happened to fall into a profound Sleep; when we were suddenly roused by a Sailor more wakeful than the rest, “*The Savages! We are lost!*” I prevailed on them to stand their ground. The Enemy consisted of two Men and three Women; each of the Men was armed with a Fusil, and a Tomahawk. We

presented them with presents out of our Trunks, and gave them some Cups of *Tafia*. One of the Men, who seemed to command the rest, spoke some bad Spanish ;— which a Sailor happening to understand, became Interpreter. We learned that the name of this Savage was *Antonio*, a native of *St. Mark*, in the *Apalachian* Mountains : He had come, with his Family, to pass the Winter in an Island, at about three Leagues' distance ; where some pieces of the Wreck came on Shore, which tempted him to roam about in search of more. The Women, were his Mother, his Sister, and his Wife ; the other Man was his Nephew.

Antonio engaged to conduct us to *St. Mark*, which he said was not more than ten Leagues distant, though it afterwards appeared to be twenty. He retired with our Presents ; and, as he promised to return to us the next day with his Canoe, three of our Sailors made no scruple of going with him. The next day, the 24th, he returned without them, bringing a Bustard and half a Roe-buck. We freighted his Canoe with such of our Effects as it would well contain. Six of us embarked in it ; and, at the request of the whole Crew, since they were assured I would not neglect those who were left behind, I was among the first Passengers. *Antonio* landed us safely on the Island, where he and his family had fixed their Winter residence ; and here we found our three Ship-mates who had left

us. But it required two days' solicitation, promises, and Threats, before the Savage would return for the five that yet remained.

By the 28th, we were all again assembled together. I therefore desired the Savage to perform his Promise, and conduct us to some place of safety on the Continent : but the favourable disposition he had at first shown, now appeared abated. His whole day was employed in hunting, and even at Night, *Antonio* returned not to his Hut. Some of our Company, apprehending Treachery, proposed to seize the Canoe by force, and to destroy the Savages : but they were soon dissuaded from so desperate and cruel an intention. Amidst this anxious and uncertain state of mind, we had now passed five days on the Island, without once seeing *Antonio* : when at length, by being on the watch, we happened to intercept him ; and by Bribes prevailed on the Savage to carry us over to the Continent.

On the 5th of *March*, our little party was again divided ; and *M. la Couture*, his Wife and Son, with *Monsieur Desclau*, myself, and my Negro, embarked in the Canoe, with between six and seven pounds of Biscuit, and some broiled quarters of a Bear, and a Roe-buck. *Antonio* and his Wife attended us, and we left the other Savages and our eight Sailors behind, from whom we did not part without shedding many tears. *Antonio* had assured us, that our Voyage should be completed in about

two days ; but after sailing about three Leagues, he stopped at an Island, where he obliged us to remain until the next Day : when he did not make more expedition than before, but carried us from one Island to another, without any manner of reason that we could possibly conceive. This extraordinary conduct, added to his former neglect, rendered my Mind irritated and uneasy. In these Trips seven Days were loitered away ; and we had nothing left to subsist on, except a few Oysters that we met with on the Coasts, and two or three Wild Fowl we procured from the Savages. After all, the Continent was not to be seen ; and we were become so weak and exhausted, that we could hardly take our turns to row.

In this miserable situation, my Mind being highly wrought, became gradually abandoned to the most violent Passions. I strongly suspected that *Antonio's* intention was to destroy us by degrees : the idea was too dreadful to be kept, and in the middle of the Night I communicated my fears to *Monsieur Desclau* and *la Couture* : and though I had before stood forth to defend the Savage, I now projected his immediate death, from a principle of Self-defence. But my Opinion was overruled, and the Arguments I had formerly urged, were now turned against me. Still I was not convinced ; and the remainder of the Night was passed, without my being able to devise any plan for our safety.

The next day, March the 12th, after sailing again little more than two Leagues, we landed, as before, on some Island ; where, overcome with Misery and Fatigue, we wrapped ourselves up in our Blankets, as usual, and lay down before a large Fire. My slumbers were but short, and even then were interrupted by a Dream : I thought I was standing on the Strand, when on a sudden I perceived the Savage, and his Wife, under Sail in their Canoe. A piercing Exclamation roused all my Shipmates, who called out to know what new alarm had affected me. I told them ; but they made a Jest of my Terrors, and I was at length brought to laugh with the rest at my own weakness. We again composed ourselves to Sleep, in which I continued till about Midnight, when the same Vision again returned, and so strongly excited my apprehension, that I was resolved to confirm or subdue them, without disturbing my Companions.

The Sky was clear, and the Moon shone sufficiently bright to afford me a distinct View of the Coast. I immediately looked for the Canoe ; but could not find it ! I searched every Cranny ; I called aloud to the Savage, but in vain : I received no answer, except from my poor Shipmates, who, awakened by my Voice, came running towards me. They appeared frantic with despair : but reflections and regrets were useless ; the evil was irreparable.

(III.) Behold us now a second time left on a Desert

Island. Our Fusils, and other Effects, had been stowed on board the Boat : even our Swords had been carelessly left the day before. In short, we remained without any sort of Weapon except a blunt Knife, which I happened to have in my Pocket. The Island produced neither Root nor Fruit of any kind, nor did the Shore afford any sort of Shell Fish. We rolled our Blankets about us, and walked for near two hours, without discovering any thing that could serve us for Food, or even a Drop of fresh Water.

At length we came to the end of this barren Island, whence we could see another, separated by a Strait about half a quarter of a League over. We had passed a Day and a Night there with the Savage, and remembered that it had good Water, and excellent Shell Fish. We sat down on the Sand, regarding with an anxious eye the Island before us, and deploring the Sterility of our own.

Pressed by Hunger, our choice was made without hesitation : We resolved to venture. My Negro, who was the shortest of the Company, went first to sound the bottom, and to point out where we might best attempt to ford it. I took the hand of *Madame la Couture*, and *Monsieur Desclau* that of her Son. *Monsieur la Couture* made two parcels of our Clothes, one of which he carried, and placed the other on the head of my Negro. Fortunately the bottom was tolerably firm and even, and we

happily arrived at the Island ; when a new distress had nearly proved fatal to us. We had been an hour and an half in the Water, and an extreme coldness seized us on quitting it. There was not a Flint to be found to make a Fire. Though we were almost spent with fatigue and hunger, we continued to walk for several hours, searching for Oysters, which we devoured as fast as we could. We had the precaution to collect a few as a reserve, and the Sun casting now a considerable heat, served to dry our Clothes and to promote our Slumbers.

During the Night the Air was extremely sharp, which obliged us often to rise and walk. The next Day the Wind being at S.E. increased the heat, and we renewed our search after Shell Fish : but the Tide was not out, and no Fish could be procured. We had afterwards occasion to observe, that the Tide never ebbed while the Southerly Winds continued. We sought amongst the Herbs, and Roots, for a supply, but could only discover some wild Sorrel.

Thus passed our time for ten days after the Savage had abandoned us, until the 22d of March, as nearly as we could reckon : when in the midst of our Lamentations and anxious Projects, we recollected an old Canoe, which we had seen on the Shore of a neighbouring Island that was in sight, where *Antonio* had one day touched ; and we immediately gave ourselves up to the most flattering il-

lusions, as if already certain of realizing our utmost Hopes.

Computing how far distant we then were from that Coast, we concluded it to be between four and five Leagues off.

It was only separated from the Island, on which we had been deserted, by an arm of the Sea, about a quarter of a League in breadth. We therefore determined to attempt the enterprise, and to set out the same Day, leaving *Madame Couture*, her Son, and my Negro, to wait our return. Between three and four hours walking brought us to the extremity of the Land, after passing some considerable Streams. We were ignorant whether this arm of the Sea was every where fordable, and at first trembled, lest it should require more swimming, than our remaining strength would allow of: but having addressed a fervent Prayer for support, we rushed into the Water.

The bottom was unequal; and for some Time we waded on, ascending and descending, when suddenly we lost footing, and plunged out of Depth. Providentially, we were at this time not above an hundred Yards from the Land: but this Escape staggered us a good deal, and we almost determined to return; had we not, after a few struggles, found the bottom again, and reached the opposite Coast, without any further accident: We fell on the Beach, unable to advance another Step. The day

was fortunately serene; and the rays of the Sun dried our Clothes, and warmed us after the chill we had experienced. We soon found the Canoe; and, after some consultation, began to repair it with Osiers, and a sort of tough compact Moss, called *Spanish Beard*, that grows on the Bark of Trees in those Islands. We continued to labour until Hunger obliged us to seek for Food, of which we found a sufficient quantity. A short Wind set in as the day closed, and threatened us with a severe Night: the smallest Flint would then have been a greater Treasure to us than the largest Diamond.

In the midst of a melancholy reverie, I suddenly recollected that the Savage, who so cruelly abandoned us, had changed the Flint of his Gun on the day we rested at this Island: I immediately started up, with an eagerness that surprised my Companions, and ran towards that side of the Shore where *Antonio* had landed. I soon found the place where we had passed the Night, and where the Cinders of our Fire still remained: there was not a blade of Grass, which I did not anxiously turn, to see if this precious Stone were concealed beneath it. After I had continued the search for some time, the day began to close, and I had only the glimmering of Twilight to direct me. I then gave up all Hopes, and was about to return to my Companions, more dejected than

ever, when I felt an hard substance under my naked Foot. I stopt with a shuddering between Hope and Fear; and, stooping down, drew the very Flint I had been so long in quest of, with a trembling hand from under my foot; which I had not dared to move, for fear of losing the Treasure.

How delicious did this Night appear to us, when compared to the foregoing ones! With what luxury did we stretch ourselves before the Fire, until the rays of the rising Sun awakened us! I kept the precious Talisman wrapped up in two Handkerchiefs, which I tied about my Neck. We passed the second Day in continuing our labours on the Canoe, and caulked it with one of our Blankets; and the next Morning awoke early for its Launch. But after all our endeavours; in the opinion of *Monsieur Desclau* and myself, it was not yet Seaworthy. *Monsieur Couture*, however, was of a different opinion.

But amidst this labour and disappointment, the fate of our eight Shipmates, from whom we had now been separated for some days, was not absent from our thoughts. Wishing to hear what treatment they had experienced from the Nephew, Mother, and Sister of *Antonio*, with whom they had been left, and thinking we might thus again meet with the Savage, and force him to conduct us to *St. Mark*; *Monsieur Desclau* and myself, resolved to make an

attempt to reach their Island, by *fording it from one to another; whilst *Monsieur Couture* should attempt to float our crazy Skiff to the Island, where we had left his Wife and Son. We then took leave, and *Monsieur Desclau* and myself, gained the other extremity of the Island: but after much useless fatigue, we could discover no ford in an arm of the Sea, that was a league in breadth: too large a stretch for us to attempt by swimming. We therefore returned to the Spot where we had left *Monsieur Couture*, but found he had set sail.

We did not reach the Ford we had to cross, until it was almost Night: we therefore rested until Day Break, when we waded through with success, and joined *Madame la Couture*, her Husband, and Son. All the labour we had employed on our rotten Canoe was thrown away; there was not a piece of sound wood to work upon. Our Spirits sunk again, and we gave up all hope of that project. The recovery of the Flint, however, enabled us to derive the comfort of a Fire, and to cheer *Madame Couture* and her Son, who had been so long without one.

* In this part of the Narrative there appears some confusion: As the Reviewer of this Shipwreck observes in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, (Vol. xli, p. 176;) "*Antonic's* Rout in sailing from Island to Island does not appear; but it must have been in a circle, if *Viaud* and *Desclau* conceived it possible to reach that from which they set out." I have endeavoured to remedy this defect, as far as the context would allow.

Hitherto we had subsisted upon Oysters and wild Sorrel, and even of such Provision we had not always a sufficient quantity: but this Day, Providence supplied us with food of a better kind. I had separated from the rest, to take a solitary walk along the Coast, when a dead Roe Buck roused my attention. I found it was still fresh. It appeared to have swam across the Strait, from some Hunter, and to have bled to Death. It was above an hour before I could convey the Animal to my Companions, whose Gratitude and Joy need no description. We broiled as much as served us for a plentiful Meal, and then, lying down round our fire, passed a comfortable Night.

On the following Day, which, as near as I can guess, was the 26th of March, our impatience to leave the Island made us examine, for the hundredth time, our Canoc. Our labour was again renewed; again given over; and again commenced. Two more Blankets were sacrificed to caulk it; and after the labour of three entire Days, we beheld it leaking on all sides. However, despairing of any other means of reaching the Continent, and having only about two Leagues to cross over, we resolved at last to hazard the passage. We determined, therefore, that three of us should make the attempt, *Monsieur la Couture*, *Monsieur Desclau*, and myself: two were to row, while the other was to lave out the Water with his Hat. This resolution being

taken, we deferred the execution of it until the next day. I left my Flint, and Knife, with young *Couture*; and having quieted his Mother's apprehensions, and enjoined my Negro's fidelity, I prepared our scanty stock of Provisions, and Necessaries, against the Morning.

By Sun rise, on the 29th of March, we set our Canoe afloat, said our Prayers, and prepared to embark. But we felt the Plank, we stood on, bend under our Feet: our weight sunk the Boat too low; and we soon perceived the Water beginning to spring through its sides. These appearances deprived me of all Hope, and I resolved not to venture on the passage. *Monsieur la Couture* pressed me to return, and made a Jest of my apprehensions: my arguments were to him of no effect. He still persisted in his purpose, and *Monsieur Desclau* departed with him. I remained on the Beach looking after them: I saw them proceed with great difficulty, and turn round a little Island, that was not far from our own, which hid them from my view. I made no doubt that they must then have perished, as I have never received any account of them since. The Boat could only have lived a short Time. Had it not been for the Island, I might perhaps have seen it sink, and my unfortunate Friends buried with it in the Waves.

I returned to *Madame la Couture*, and I found her sitting by the Fire, with her Back to the Sea,

weeping bitterly. My presence surprised and startled her: *You are not yet gone ; ah ! what has prevented you ?*—I strove to avoid giving her more lively sensations of Sorrow ; and pretended only, that three persons being too great a weight for the Canoe, I had made the choice of staying with her. *Madame la Couture* returned me thanks almost on her knees.

(IV.) There now remained but four Persons in the Island, and I had the care of providing for them all. *Madame la Couture*, and her Son, were too weak to afford me assistance ; and the Negro could give me no help, but where manual labour was required. For some days the Wind continued at S. and S. E., which prevented us from procuring any Oysters or other Shell-Fish ; so that we were reduced to support ourselves with a sort of wild Sorrel we picked up : a wretched sustenance, which weakened our Stomachs without satisfying our Hunger.

Six Days had now passed since the departure of *Monsieur la Couture*, and *Desclau* ; my Spirits sunk into despondency, and even *Madame la Couture* began to conclude that they must have perished. Tired to the last degree with my wretched situation, a thought one Morning forcibly struck me ; that I might possibly be able to collect sufficient Materials together on the I-land, capable of floating us over, some calm Day, to the Continent. I regretted my not thinking of it, before the depar-

ture of my poor Friends; who would have assisted me in such an undertaking, better than in all the labour we had thrown away upon the fatal Canoe. I instantly communicated my ideas to *Madame la Couture*, who seemed in raptures with my Plan. We all of us engaged in the Work without delay. I employed young *Couture* in stripping some Trees, which I had selected, of their Bark; whilst his Mother, the Negro, and myself, assisted each other in dragging down such * Trunks, and Branches, as our Strength would enable us to surmount, to a place on the Beach, below High-water Mark. We were continually obliged to stop, and lay ourselves down; returning to our employment as soon as we had recovered breath. By the time that Night began to set in, we were nearly exhausted; but had the pleasure, on returning to our Fire, to find a quantity of Oysters, Muscles, Cockles, and other Shell Fish, which young *Couture* had collected on the changing of the Wind, at low Water.

Early the next Morning we returned to our Work. The tough rinds of Trees served to bind our Timbers together, and we also took the precaution of cutting long shreds from one of our Blankets, to render these fastenings more secure. My Negro

* This Part, in the Original, seems to have been written in too much haste. They had neither Hatchet nor Saw, nor any iron Instrument, except *Vaud's* pocket Knife: In this, and some other questionable Passages, I have regarded the Context, in preference to any contradictory Assertion.

brought me several pieces of the smaller, and more pliant Branches, which we interwove among the longer ones; and about Noon we completed our Raft. I then set up a Stick in the middle of it, which I fastened as well as I could, to serve for a Mast; to this, by way of Sail, I tied a Blanket; and we then unravelled our Stockings to form a sort of Cordage, that we might shift our Sail, as the Wind should vary. These subordinate matters employed us for the rest of that day, which we finished by fixing a small piece of Timber abaft by way of Rudder. Late as it was, we employed ourselves, in order to be ready by break of day, in making a provision of some Oysters, and other Shell Fish, of which we procured a sufficient quantity; and having placed them on the Raft, we moored it on the Beach, waiting for the return of the Tide to set it afloat.

In expectation of this Happiness, we lay down before the Fire, but slept, alas! very little: for in the middle of the Night there arose a dreadful Storm, with incessant flashes of Lightning, and tremendous peals of Thunder. It also blew very hard, and a great Sea raged on the Beach. We trembled for our sole *Palladium*, the Raft; and in the first of the Morning, when the Tempest had abated, ran down to ascertain what had happened. The Waves had washed it from its moorings, and destroyed it, together with the entire stock of our

Provisions! We spent the whole day in lamenting the severity of this loss: nor did we bestow one thought towards attempting any further relief, or even attending to the support of our exhausted nature.

My Negro, with more precaution, had gone to search the Shore for some kind of sustenance; but the Tide was in, and he could not meet with any Shell Fish. He found, however, the head and skin of a Porpoise, which he brought to us in triumph, though they were almost putrefied. Hunger has no delicacy; so having broiled it, our craving stomachs greedily devoured every Morsel. In about an hour we were all seized with a most deadly sickness: our only relief was from drinking cold Water, for we had no means of heating any, but even this was gradual; and our sickness turned into a dysentery, under which we suffered severely for about five days.

It was about the 11th of *April*, when *Madame la Couture*, the Negro, and myself, again exerted the little strength we had left, in making another Raft: her Son continued so extremely ill, as not to be able to assist us. We laboured at it without intermission, and had the comfort of seeing it finished by the 15th Night, of the same Month. The slightest Cloud that appeared, or the least Wind that blew, struck us with a panic. During the whole of this Night, our fears ceased not for a moment.

We never thought of Sleep, but spent the interval in collecting whatever Provisions we could meet with, and placing them, as before, on the Raft.

The Morning at length appeared, and opened with favourable omens. I went to awaken young *la Couture* to embark with us: he was the only one, whom weakness and fatigue had induced to sleep. I called him, but he made no reply; I took hold of his hand, but found him cold as Marble. For some minutes I concluded him to be dead; but on feeling his breast, perceived his heart was still beating. Our Fire was reduced to the last Cinder: I ordered the Negro to put on fresh Fuel, whilst I exerted myself to chafe the young Man's Limbs. *Madame la Couture* joined us: I shall not attempt to describe her grief. She fell into a Swoon by his side, which for some time I thought would have terminated her existence. Her Son began at length to recover: the Cold had overpowered him in the Night, and from the weak habit he was reduced to, had thrown him into a state of Lethargy.

There was no thinking of setting out on our Voyage this Day, both the Mother and Son were too ill to attempt it. I ran down to the Sea-Side, and brought away the Provisions we had collected on the Raft: perhaps, in a few hours, this our last and only Hope might be snatched from us. I endeavoured to moor the Raft in such a manner, as might best secure it from the Sea, should another Gale of

Wind arise. I removed the Mast, Sail, and Cordage, and in short every thing that we could not restore in case of a second stormy Night, and laid them in a secure place: the Blanket I brought to our Invalids, who greatly needed its comfort. During the whole Night I remained watching by the side of young *la Couture*: nor did he close his eyes, but spoke to me frequently, returning me thanks for my attentions. In my life, I never heard any thing so affecting, as the expressions which this young Man addressed to me, on this melancholy occasion. About Day-break he found himself growing worse; and I had the precaution to keep his Mother at a considerable distance. He at length urged me to leave him: *Take with you my dear Mother! When you are arrived in a place of safety you will not forget me. Make no reply! What I require is just. The uncertain Hope of seeing me in a condition to accompany you, ought not to make you risk the certain danger, of perishing with me. No! I will die alone. Protect my Mother! hide from her the Condition I am reduced to, and the counsel I have given. Comfort her! and depart!*

I stood mute, and astonished, agitated by different emotions; and parted from him without rendering him still more unhappy, by mentioning the state of irresolution, I yet remained in, about the counsel he had so generously recommended. I

could indeed have borne him on my Shoulders to the Raft, but then what was to become of him, on our landing : here was no Wild Beast to fear, and some conveniences were already provided. My own preservation, and his Mother's, demanded our departure. Our Voyage, I flattered myself, would be short, and that we should presently arrive at some inhabited part of the Continent ; where I might find a Boat, and such assistance, as would enable me to return immediately. And yet, notwithstanding these Reflections, I could not bring myself to put my resolves in Execution all that day.

In the Evening, I returned again to young *Couture*, who reproved my delay : *Another Storm may arise, he exclaimed, and carry off the Raft. I shall then expire before my dear Mother's Eyes. Take the advantage of this Night to make your preparations of Provisions : leave me a small portion, and embark at Day break. Suffer my Mother to believe that I am dead.*—His resignation, and heroic composure of Mind, at length determined me. I gave him a Surtout I had on, and my Waistcoat ; and some Shell-Fish which the Negro had collected, dried by the Fire, with whatever else I could collect. I then endeavoured to rest for a few hours, but could not ; so that I passed the interval in conversing with my poor Invalid, who reposed as little as myself. An hour before

Day he appeared to be deprived of all sense and motion; nor could my utmost endeavours bring him to his senses. At Day break I perceived he still breathed. My last melancholy duty consisted in filling some Oyster Shells with fresh Water, which I placed near him. I then recommended him with tears to Heaven, and went to take charge of the Mother, he had so solemnly intrusted to my care.

Her Grief was speechless, but Tears came to her relief, and we walked in dreadful Silence to the Raft. As I guided it from the fatal Shore, I put up a silent prayer for her Son's departing Soul, amidst a state of horror and anxious perturbation, which I can never forget. As near as I can recollect it was the 19th of *April*, when after twelve hours of fatigue we happily reached the Continent. With what devout fervour did we kneel, and return our thanks to Providence.

(V.) It was now Sun-set.—We found the Coast overflowed to a considerable distance, which rendered our progress inland, for the present, impracticable. We therefore looked out for a place of safety during the Night; and made choice of an elevated Spot, on which were several large Trees in leaf, that would shelter us from the Wind and Dew. I therefore immediately took out my invaluable Flint, and presently kindled a good Fire, by which we

sat down, and supped on the provisions we had brought with us.

Our Eyes were hardly closed, when we were awakened by the most dreadful and hideous howlings: amidst the darkness of the Night, they seemed every moment to increase, and to approach nearer to our Fire. My Negro ran to a Tree, which he ascended with inconceivable swiftness. *Madame la Couture* followed, entreating his assistance to gain the same Asylum; but fear rendered him deaf to her Cries, as it did her, to my earnest entreaties not to leave the Fire, which I in vain assured them was our only place of security. I soon heard a shriek, *Help! Help! or I am lost.* I immediately snatched up a Fire-brand, and by its imperfect light perceived an enormous Bear, in pursuit of *Madame la Couture*, who at sight of me stopped short. With trembling steps, I must acknowledge, I advanced my Fire-brand; it however succeeded, and I conducted back my Companion in safety: the Bear sent forth a horrid growl, but did not attempt to follow us.

My attention was next directed to the cries of the Negro; and, by the light of our Fire, which blazed prodigiously, I found the Bear had raised himself against the Tree, and was preparing to climb it. I instantly called to the poor Negro to get to the highest, and most pliant Boughs; and, at the same Time, threw several flaming bundles of

wood against the foot of the Tree, which burning with great fierceness almost blinded the Beast; who descended precipitately on the other side, and quitted the Field.

All hopes of rest for this Night were over: our apprehensions were continually increased by incessant howlings, which remained until the Morning. Several Animals approached so near, as to be indistinctly seen amidst the dim obscurity of the reflected Blaze; and, to our terrified Imagination, all the savage * Beasts of the Desert were assembled together. In order to secure ourselves as much as possible, we cast around us a number of flaming Brands: this expedient, as it removed the wild Beasts to a greater distance, abated our fears; but we were still alarmed, lest our quantity of wood should be consumed before the return of Day. Happily the Night was farther advanced than we imagined; and before our Fire slackened, the dreadful howlings gradually died away. On the first approach of the Morning, I collected a fresh supply of Wood, and recruited our defence. But it was a long time, before I could persuade the negro to leave the uppermost branch of his Tree,

* Here again *Viaud* seems guilty of an Error, by describing as a certainty, what his fears alone had induced him to believe: since, as the Monthly Reviewer observes, he mentions meeting with Tygers, and Lions, in the Woods of *North America*, near the British settlements at the *Apalachians*! I have endeavoured to render the real meaning of my Author.

and refresh himself by the Fire. We slumbered, rather than slept, until Noon.

After a slight repast, we began our Journey towards *St. Mark* in an easterly direction; hoping in our route to meet with some Savages who would assist us. But our strength soon failed us; and after walking for an Hour and an half, we were obliged to halt, and collect Wood for the Night. Having constructed our principal Pile, without lighting it, we made a dozen others in a circle round it, at above twenty Yards' distance from our centre; dividing the Circle into equal intervals. We then began our search for Food, but the spot was completely barren; neither Fish, nor any sort of Roots were to be found. Our only beverage, and support, was a Pool of muddy Water, which however was not stagnated, and of this we drank plentifully.

As soon as Night fell, I lighted all our Piles, and endeavoured to get some rest, before the howling of the wild Beasts disturbed us, which was not until Midnight: our Fatigue and Weakness, if I may judge from the horrid din which then assailed us, had prevented their being heard sooner. *Madame la Couture*, and my Negro, several times fainted away through fear; and my terror was scarcely inferior: a cold sweat bedewed all my Limbs; and my crouching close to the Fire

was the only cause that prevented me also from swooning.

At length the Morning arrived; and with it the calls of Hunger, which we could not satisfy: We tried to assuage its severity, by every thing we could lay our hands on, but in vain. We then walked forward, hoping to meet with some Vegetable, that was fit to eat, but none appeared in this Desert: nothing but dry Heath, or leafless Brambles. Towards Evening we burst into tears, and sunk on the Ground in the most abject despair.

The Negro, weak as he was, but maddened by Hunger, at length discovering a Tree, started up, and voraciously devoured the leaves. We followed his example, and swallowed them with equal greediness: but they only filled our Stomachs, without imparting any support. Our preparations for the Night being made, we sat down in the middle of them, and waited for the close of Day: when suddenly we were all seized with violent convulsions in our Bowels; and it was with difficulty we could writhe ourselves along the ground to a neighbouring Spring, of which we drank incessantly. Our Stomachs were immediately puffed up almost to bursting, and were only relieved with severe agony, and vomiting of blood. We remained stretched out by the Spring, without the smallest degree of strength, expecting every moment would be our last. In this dreadful situation we saw the

Sun set, and the Night advance. With its darkness, our fears increased; and, after some vain attempts, we contrived to creep on our knees and hands to our Asylum. To light our Fire required a fresh exertion, and the howlings of the wild Beasts had commenced, before our flaming circle was completed.

Before Morning we had fallen into a slumber, from which we did not awake until Noon. We looked up at the Tree we had so madly fed on, with horror and disgust; and miserable, with our sickly pains, and hungry spasms, pursued our uncertain Journey. We often cast our eyes around, in hopes of something that we might pick up, but saw a boundless and barren Waste extending on all Sides. At length we gained a rising ground, with the hope of discovering from it some fertile Spot, or hospitable Village; but all was dreary as before: an immense Horizon! with the Sea on the right, a Forest on the left stretching beyond our sight, and before us a desert Plain, marked only by the tracks of wild Beasts. Again we sunk down in an horrid state of despair, and our exhausted Spirits died within us.

We at length arose, and directed our Steps towards the Forest, entirely relying upon Providence. The surrounding thickness and gloom of the almost impenetrable Woods, made us tremble... There were but few openings to pass through, and we had not proceeded far before even these closed upon us, or

wound about to the very place, by which we at first entered. At last we discovered one that led deep into the Forest; and being anxious to explore it whilst it was day, we lost ourselves, and could not recover the desert Plain. Exhausted with hunger and Fatigue, I now fell on the ground; exclaiming, *It is all over with us, here we must terminate our Lives!* We all wept bitterly, and buried the most horrid Reflections in repeated Groans.

In this awful Extremity the recollection crossed my mind, of some Mariners I had read of; who being long detained by contrary Winds in unknown Seas, until all their Provisions were exhausted, cast Lots for the Victim, whose Death should preserve his Comrades from * Famine. Dare I confess it, my Friend? Your Blood will run cold at the continuance of my Narrative: but Your horror cannot possibly exceed mine. Consider the excess to which

* I most devoutly wish, that this, and similar Passages had never been justified by Facts. The thought seems to have been suggested to *Vaud*, by the horrid Example of others. Necessity may have no Law, but Christianity is paramount to Necessity; and it behoves the Shipwrecked Mariner to remember, that all support from the Providence of God, may terminate at the instant, the massacre of a Fellow Creature has been perpetrated. Besides, a Food so disgusting and unnatural, has in many instances failed even of producing nutriment. Had *Vaud* been sufficiently provident, he would have collected a larger quantity of dried Shell Fish in his Island, before he attempted to gain the Continent. We must, however, admire the frankness of his confession, and pity the weakness of Human Nature: When the Apostle was commanded to walk on the surface of the dread Abyss, and was afraid, because the Wind was boisterous; the Power that saved him, exclaimed, *O thou of little Faith! wherefore didst thou doubt?*

our Nature may be transported, by Despair and Hunger.

My eyes, roving for sustenance, happened to fall on the Negro, and fixed themselves on him with a greediness I could neither conquer nor resist. My Reason was impaired; my Mind sympathised with the weakness of my Body: Hunger gnawed me with its Talons; and the temptation of relieving myself from insufferable Agonies, was the only principle I could in that dread moment consider. *Madame la Couture* seemed agitated with the same inhuman Ideas: when I looked at her, she turned her eyes upon the Negro; and, pointing to him, cast a look at me so full of horror, as spoke her wishes stronger than Speech could. I seemed to have waited for this encouragement. I hesitated no longer: but seizing my knotty Staff, ran at my sleeping Victim, and struck him on the head with all my force. He awoke! but so stunned, that he could not rise. My uplifted hand trembled, and refused to repeat the stroke. My heart shook within me. The unhappy Wretch was on his knees! and with joined hands, and a terrified look, cried out, *My dear Master! have I offended you? Have mercy on me! * O spare my Life!*

* The Soul of this poor *African*, was actuated by a principle superior to that of his deluded Master: their pangs of Hunger were equal; but the Slave would have died, rather than attempt the Life of him, whose Countrymen had forged the Chains of the Negroes.

Compassion succeeded Cruelty ; my Tears fell faster than his, and for some moments I stood motionless : but at length, Despair and Hunger returned ; a second groan from *Madame la Couture* completed my Phrenzy, and I became a Monster. I fell upon my miserable Slave, pressed him to the ground ; and roaring aloud, to smother his Cries, tied his hands behind, and called to my Accomplice to assist me in this barbarous action. She readily obeyed my summons ; and keeping down his head, whilst I remained on his body, I drew my knife, and buried it in his Throat. I then placed the Carcase across a large tree, that the Blood might flow more freely ; and she assisted in this work also.

(VI.) We sat down on the ground to recover ourselves a little, with our faces averted from the shocking Spectacle. Reason began to return, and we reflected with the utmost horror on our Crime. Then starting up, we ran to a Spring to wash our hands ; and falling on our knees, prayed fervently for ourselves, and for the unhappy Object of our fury.

As soon as the Pile was lighted, our horrid repast commenced : we began even to devour the flesh when it was little more than warmed through ; and having allayed our agony, we employed ourselves until Morning in cutting up the Body into Quarters, and hanging them in the Smoke of the Fire. We

remained on the same Spot the next Day, and the following Night. On the 28th of *April*, as near as I could compute, we set forwards on our Journey; bitterly regretting the loss of our Fellow Traveller, with whose remains we were both encumbered. We journeyed for several days, with great difficulty and fatigue; sometimes labouring through high Bulrushes, and at others through Brambles, Thorns, and various kinds of prickly Plants. The Stings of the Muskitoes and Sand Flies, had disfigured us so much, that not a single Feature could be distinguished in either of us: our legs, and hands, were also swelled with their Venom.

In order to avoid them, we now left the Forest, and made for the Beach, at the first opening that led towards the Sea. When the Weather was fair, and the Tide out, we met with some Cockles, and a few small Flounders, which I hooked with a sort of harpoon, made of a branch of a Tree: but of such Food we never could procure sufficient, at any Time, for a Meal, and only met with it occasionally.

I cannot, my Friend, detail, day by day, an account of this fatiguing Journey. The Sea Reeds gave us as much labour to pass through, as the Thorns and Brambles of the Forest. The Wild Beasts also kept us in terror every Night; to which was added the horror of our very Meals. Our Minds had recovered their original tone, and we

were shocked to the last degree at being obliged to swallow such inhuman Food. We never could taste a morsel of that horrid Sustenance, until we were reduced to the last necessity.

One Evening, when we had halted for the Night, I found myself so extremely feeble, that I could scarcely gather Wood sufficient for our principal Pile : to form the remaining Circle was impossible, for I could stand no longer. At that instant it occurred to me, that by setting Fire to the surrounding Reeds and Broom, it would remove the Wild Beasts to a greater distance, and serve to clear the impediments that were in our way. The Scheme succeeded to our utmost expectation ; and the next Day, as far as our sight could reach, our Route was marked, and cleared from all obstructions.

During the next Day, we met with a new sort of Provision, which was extremely palatable and nourishing. It consisted of two large Rattle Snakes that had been suffocated by the Fire, whereof one had fourteen, and the other twenty-one Scales. We cut off their heads, where the Poison lies, and were thus supplied with fresh Food, both for this Day and the next. In the course of our Journey, I also one Morning found a Cayman, or *Tacare*, a species of the Crocodile, of about twelve Feet in length, asleep in a Pool of Water. I hesitated some moments before I attacked it, in order to decide on the surest manner. Having stunned it

with my Staff, I immediately darted the end of it that was sharp-pointed, through its throat, and thus pinned it to the Ground. I then called out to my Companion, who threw me a sort of club, with which we secured the Animal. We immediately prepared our repast with about three pounds of it; and cut the remainder into small pieces, that they might be dried and smoked for future use. Of its Skin we made Shoes, and rolled some parts round our legs to defend us from the stings of innumerable Insects. We also contrived Masks for our Faces; which, though at first troublesome, we soon became reconciled to. The remainder of this Day, and the succeeding Night, were wholly occupied in these preparations.

We recommenced our Journey without having any rest, as soon as the Day appeared, and the howlings of the Wild Beasts had ceased: but in about an hour, our progress was interrupted by a River. It was not broad, but the current was extremely rapid. I tried to ford it, but found the depth of Water would not admit of it: had I attempted to swim across, the violence of the Stream would have hurried me, with it, into the Ocean: or had I strength to surmount it, my Companion would still have remained. We had therefore no resource but to travel by the side of the River, towards its source; in search of some Shallow, or place, where the Current was less rapid.

We proceeded two Days without success, until we began to despair of ever leaving the Desert; during which Time we met with no Food but what we carried with us. The continual view of the River, always rapid, added to the weariness of our Minds. Towards the close of the second Day, I happened to turn up a Tortoise, which might perhaps weigh about ten Pounds. This providential Supply suspended all our Murmurs, and changed them into acclamations of Gratitude. We had the day before, seen a large Hen Turkey come down, and drink at the Stream; and been sadly disappointed, by an ineffectual search of a mile or two round the Place for its Nest, which we hoped might have been found. But the finding of the Tortoise made us forget past vexation. I formed the Pile, and having got every thing prepared, was going to set fire to it: when the Flint was nowhere to be found!

I searched all my Pockets, turned them inside out; opened all our parcels of Provisions, searched my Pockets again, and felt in every fold: but there was no Flint. Imagine our distraction! Our loss was irreparable! In what manner, without its assistance, could we prepare our Food, defend ourselves from the Cold, and Dews of the Night, and the ravenous fury of the Wild Beasts?

I could not have dropped the Flint any where, but in the Place where I lighted our last Fire, or

on the Road this Morning. Weak and feeble as I was, I hesitated not a moment to retrace my Foot-steps; and left *Madame la Couture*, to go with me, or wait my return. Though she trembled at the idea of being left alone, she was too much exhausted to accompany me. The Sun had some time to set, and I might return before it was necessary to light our Piles: but I was deceived: I was too weak to move fast, and besides almost at every Step, I could not help looking on all sides for my Flint; hoping I might not be obliged to go back all the Way. After a vain search, and about the dusk of the Evening, I reached the very spot where we had halted the preceding Night. There was scarcely light sufficient, to discern much larger objects than that I was in quest of: but I would not despair; and groping about on my knees, felt every where around, but to no effect. I then rose up, and hastened to the Hearth itself, in hopes of meeting with some Embers, by which I might light another Fire; but the Cinders were all cold, and not a spark appeared.

I was nearly distracted, and knew not what to decide on. To return without the Flint, was madness: so I resolved to wait for Day Light, as the best alternative for us both; and threw myself on an Heap of Fern, we had gathered for a Couch. It then occurred, that most probably the Flint had dropped out amongst the Fern; my impatience

ill brooked delay, and I examined every inch of my Bed, notwithstanding the dreadful Darkness, layer after layer; shifting every handful through my Fingers, and then placing it on a separate Heap.

In this anxious manner the greater part of the Night had passed away; when having entirely removed my Bed, and spreading my hands all over the spot of ground on which I had before slept, I had at last the Happiness to feel the precious Article I sought for. I was really distracted with Joy. I kissed it, and wept over it like a Child.

Long before this, I had heard the hideous Yells of the Wild Beasts, though at a considerable distance; and trembled for my deserted Companion: though the extensive conflagration I had made, gave me hopes of her security, and my own safe return. I immediately endeavoured to find my way back amidst the obscurity of the Night; but was often obliged to stop and light a Fire. Notwithstanding the fatigue, both of Mind and Body, which I had undergone, I reached the place where my poor Comrade had crouched herself, about two hours before day: I should have passed her in the dark, had not an heavy sigh reached my ear, which made me at first start. She had heard the sound of feet approaching, and thought it was owing to some Wild Beast, prowling for his Prey. *Have you,* she exclaimed, *heard these howlings? they have not ceased a moment, since the Night commenced!*

I imagined you had been devoured, and that it was impossible I could long survive.—"Our Fears and Fatigues, Madam, are repaid: I have recovered the Flint!"

We immediately collected what dry Sticks and Leaves the Night would allow us to scrape together, and, having made a large comfortable Fire, feasted on part of our delicious Tortoise. We found in it some small Eggs, which we roasted in the Cinders; and after the Luxury of four hours sleep, rose with recruited powers both of Body, and Mind.

On considering the River, we found its course to continue in a direct Line, far beyond our View: we therefore despaired of being able, after many days journey, to find a Ford, and resolved at once to attempt the Passage. We were the more encouraged by observing about half a dozen floating Trees, that had fallen into the Stream, and been stopped by another which the Wind had bent down into the River. I waded into the Water, which was not very deep near the Bank; and fastening four of the Trunks together, by means of the Rind, I had peeled off, drew them after me. I then secured our Raft, and fixed a long pole at the end, by way of Rudder.

(VII.) The whole being completed, we prepared to embark, using every precaution that was in our power. We fastened the Provisions in parcels round our Bodies, and launched boldly out into the River. I

guided the Raft to the best of my ability ; but the Current hurried us along, with a rapidity that made me tremble : fearing lest I should never be able to stem it, before it had carried us out to Sea. By infinite labour and address, we had now got into the midst of the Stream ; when suddenly we were dashed against a Tree that happened to bend across the River. The Shock broke the Raft asunder, and plunged us at once into the Water ; where we should certainly have perished, had I not been quick enough to seize a Branch of the Tree with one hand, and the Hair of *Madame la Couture*, who was sinking, with the other. With this assistance she reached the stem of the Tree, and we found ourselves at last on the opposite Shore. We fortunately lost nothing but the Raft, which could not have been of any further service.

Having refreshed ourselves with a second excellent Meal from our Tortoise, we dried our other Provisions and Clothes by the Fire, which employed us for the remainder of that Day. We passed the Night with the usual precautions, and the next Morning set out in an eastward direction for *St. Mark* among the *Apalachian* Mountains.

Our Course was soon obstructed by a Wood, choaked with strong Reeds and Briars. The Shoes, Buskins, and Masks, which we had made with the Cayman's Skin, were worn out, and had melted into pap, from their late soaking. Our Bodies were

attacked by Muskitoes, Sand-flies, and Wasps, against which we had no defence: and the only Provisions we could procure, consisted of the wretched remains of the Negro, and the Cayman. For some Days we resolutely struggled through all these difficulties, and walked heavily along, scarcely able to put one of our swelled feet before the other; and when we sat down, it required our utmost efforts to rise again, and renew the uniform languor of our tedious Journey.

One Day, unable any longer to resist the dejection that overwhelmed me, and hopeless of all success, I sunk down on the Shore we had then reached, about an hundred Yards from the Sea, beneath some spreading foliage that had been sheltered from the Wind. My Sight was nearly gone by the blisters which the venom of different Insects had raised. After a short repose, I attempted to rise, but could not: I felt as if the Earth I pressed, had been heaped upon me. I exhorted my Companion to avail herself of what powers she had left, and to struggle still for Life. She could at first only answer me with Tears: *No, my dear Friend! I will never abandon you. Exert your Spirits, and your strength will return again.* She then tore off some of her Clothes, and bound up my Legs and Arms, which considerably relieved me from the torture I had endured. She then prepared the Fire, and went to the Beach in search of some fresh Provi-

sion. She returned with another Tortoise! and we both washed our Stings and Blisters in its warm blood, which seemed a relief. I then slept for some Time, but my weakness was not relieved; and I soon grew so much worse, that I believed I had not many hours to survive.

Whilst she watched by me with the utmost patience and tenderness, an Hen Turkey again appeared, and ran into the Wood, as we thought, as if going to her Nest. *Madame la Couture* immediately followed it, and left me in a state of torpid insensibility.

(VIII.) The Sun was near setting: and I had remained in the same state for about three hours, like a person between sleeping and waking, when I was roused from my insensibility by the sound of human Voices. They seemed to come from the Sea; and concluding they were the Voices of Savages, I at first listened with dread. Several times were the Sounds repeated, and a ray of Hope began to beam upon my Mind. I endeavoured to rise; and after many efforts, contrived to sit on the Ground. I then strove to hail them, but my Voice failed me; and the idea that I should lose the only chance that had so long offered, was beyond measure dreadful. I crept on my hands, as near the Shore as I could, and perceived a large Boat in the Offing! Animated by the sight, I raised myself on my Knees and waving my Cap, fell, exhausted, on my Face.

How much did I regret the absence of my Companion : she would have run down and implored their succour ; but was then at too great a distance to hear the sound of their Voices.

I thought of every possible method I could devise, to attraet their Notice : when happening to perceive a long Branch, which had before escaped me, I fastened the Rags to it that had been bound round my Blisters, and placed my Cap on the top. It was at last noticed. Great God ! what were my emotions ! A sudden Shout reached my anxious Ears ; and, from the noise, they seemed steering for the Shore.

Having fixed the Branch in the Ground, that they might not lose sight of the Signal, I endeavoured to creep still nearer to the Sea : where I lay extended, fatigued beyond measure, but exulting in hope, and offering fervent ejaculations to Providence for this assistance. As I gazed in a sort of mad Delirium on the Boat, I had the comfort to find, by their Dress, that the Crew were *Europeans*, and not Savages : I feebly looked round for my Companion, that she might share the Joy. But she did not appear, though it grew late, and the Night was setting in.

Whilst my Mind was thus agitated, the Boat arrived ; the Crew, who were *Englishmen*, hastened towards me with all the prompt benevolence of their Countrymen. But my excess of Joy had

nearly proved fatal; and it was some time before they recovered me from a Swoon. The *Tafia*, which they poured down my Throat, gradually revived me: I became enabled to express my Gratitude, and to acquaint them with the horrors of my situation. As they answered me in *French*, I at first thought they were my Countrymen; but this was of small importance to me: it was sufficient that I had fallen into the hands of civilized beings. *Madame la Couture* at length heard their calls, which I intreated them to make in the adjoining Wood, and came running^t towards us with a Turkey, and her Nest. *Rejoice with me*, I exclaimed; *Providence never forsakes us! Your generous Compassion has been rewarded!*

As the Night was closing in, it was thought prudent to wait until the next day. We therefore gathered round the Fire, to which my Deliverers carried me, and supped on our Turkey and her Eggs; to which they added some pickled Pork, and a Glass or two of *Tafia*. After our snug Supper, which was the most cheerful I ever enjoyed, I entertained them with an Account of our Shipwreck and strange Adventures; and then learned that the day of our Deliverance was the 6th of * *May*. But observing, that only the Officer and one of his Men understood *French*, and that the rest of his Crew

* *Viaud* adds, that the *English* had the Curiosity, not only to examine the remains of his Cannibal Provision, but even to taste

were impatient to hear my Story, I repeated it in *English*; which I was enabled to do, by having been twice a Prisoner in *Great Britain*.

I now in my turn inquired of Ensign *Wright*, what fortunate motive had induced him to visit that part of the Coast? He informed me, that he belonged to a detachment stationed at *St. Mark*, in the *Apalachian* Mountains, commanded by Lieutenant *Swettenham*: that some Days before, a Savage declared, he had passed a Man lying dead on the Beach; who, from the remains of his Clothes, seemed to be an *European*: his Face and Belly had been devoured by some Wild Beast. On hearing this Account, Lieutenant *Swettenham* dispatched Ensign *Wright*, with an Interpreter and four Soldiers, to search the Coast, and afford relief: and he was the more induced to do this, from an apprehension, that the *Brigantine*, he expected with Provisions from *Pensacola*, for the Garrison at Fort *St. Mark*, had been cast away amidst the stormy Weather that prevailed.

The mangled Body seen by the Savage, which under Providence was the happy Cause of Ensign *Wright's* humane Cruise; must have been one of our poor Friends, either *Monsieur la Couture*,

a morsel; though they immediately rejected it with disgust.— But I strongly suspect the truth of his assertion. An *Englishman's* Curiosity could hardly make him a Cannibal; or if it did, he would not make his first Essay on the almost putrid Carcase of a *Negro*.

or *Monsieur Desclau*. We have never since received any account of them.

The Night was now considerably advanced ; and our respective Curiosity being satisfied, we prepared for rest ; when a most violent Storm arose, with Rain, Wind, Thunder, and Lightning : nor did its fury cease, until Day Break. By Sun rise a perfect Calm succeeded. We then prepared to embark : but though I felt able to get into the Boat, *Mr. Wright* thought it was more than my strength would warrant, and ordered me to be carried aboard. When we had shoved off, I resigned myself to repose, and the blessed Calm that pervaded my Mind. As *Mr. Wright* had already traversed all the Islands except one, he resolved to proceed thither, and then to return to *St. Mark*. We had a fair Wind, and arrived at the Island in about twelve hours.

As we approached the Shore, I recollected that it was the very Island where young *Couture* had been left to expire, and whence we had embarked on a Raft. The Miseries I had since endured, afforded me but little leisure to reflect on his desperate Situation : but I now shed many Tears to that dear Boy's Memory ; and the idea that he was not quite dead when I left him, revived a Hope, which it was folly to indulge. Yet in vain did Reason strive to subdue this Hope : nor could they prevail on

me to leave the Island, until I had gained some certainty of what had happened to him. I therefore prevailed on *Mr. Wright* to sail quite round it; whilst the Soldiers exerted themselves in calling out a Name, so dear to his anxious and afflicted Mother. But all was silence, and no answer was returned.

A secret and powerful impulse still remained on my Mind, and prolonged Hope, however irrational. The poor Sufferer might be in a state similar to what I had experienced; he might hear the Voices, and yet not be able to answer them. I communicated my feelings to *Mr. Wright*; who, after representing the unnecessary delay, which such an inquiry would occasion, at length steered in Shore, and sent one of his Men to the place I pointed out. In about a quarter of an hour he returned, and informed us that he had seen the Body, and found it dead. Upon which *Mr. Wright* prepared to tack about for *St. Mark*. I then raised myself on my knees; and begged that he would first allow me to go on Shore, and pay the last duties to my lamented young Friend.

Mr. Wright's tenderness, and indulgence towards us, acceded also to this request; and he immediately ordered his Men to bear me to the Corpse. We found the poor Boy extended on the Ground, with his Face turned to the Earth: his Skin, parched with the Sun and Wind, sent forth a putrid smell,

and the Worms had already buried themselves in his Legs and Thighs. While the Soldiers were employed in preparing his Grave, I knelt down, and having addressed a fervent Prayer over the Body, they approached to move it : when, to our utter astonishment, one of the Men, who had placed his hand under the Boy's Breast, cried out, *He is still warm! his Heart yet beats!* and at the same instant, as another Soldier placed his hand on one of the Legs, it immediately drew up.

Our utmost endeavours to preserve the lingering spark of Life, were carefully exerted : Some *Tusla*, diluted with Water, was poured down his Throat ; and with the same we washed and cleansed his Wounds, from the Nests of innumerable Worms. In the midst of all this, his Mother, who at first was motionless with surprise, became almost frantic with anxious expectation for her Child. *Great God!* she exclaimed, *is it possible?* She then ran to her Son, and threw herself in such violent emotions by his Side, that they were obliged to force her away : And as I was too weak to administer any relief to the poor Boy, I sat by his Mother on the Ground ; exerting all the strength both of Body and of Mind, which I possessed, to abate her agitation, and to keep her quiet.

At length *Mr. Wright* ran to acquaint us, that the young Man had recovered his Senses : on opening his eyes, he wept much, stared wildly at those

around him, and asked, *Where is my Mother, and my Friend?* When we appeared, he seemed to recollect us, and said in a feeble Voice, *I have not seen you for many, many Days! Where have you been?* We briefly replied, lest we might too much agitate his returning Senses, *We are just returned to save your Life: take courage, and be of good Cheer!*—The Soldiers then bore him to the Boat, and we laid him on some of their Clothes which they humanely lent us; and covering him with a Blanket, I placed myself by him: But I had great difficulty in checking the phrensied affection of his Mother, who watched by him on the other side.

As it was late when we embarked, we made but little progress that Evening; and went on Shore again at the extremity of the same Island, to pass the Night. The Soldiers chased some Bustards, and brought us three for our Supper; of which *Couture* ate a little, and then slept undisturbed until the Morning. The following Day he appeared much recruited, but more in Mind than in Body: for he did not rave at intervals, as he had done. He could not, however, recollect any thing that had passed, since we left him, except that he had often fainted; and that, between the Fits, he had been sensible of extreme Hunger and Thirst; when he refreshed himself, whilst they lasted, with the Oysters, and Water, we had placed within his reach. He was so weak, that he could not stretch out his

hand, but was forced to trail himself along, and feed like a Reptile. It seemed to him, as if we had not ventured on board the Raft, but had met with this succour just as we were preparing to leave the Island. Nor did we, for the present, undeceive him.

His having existed thus long (*April 19th, to May the 7th*) in the state we left him, was a subject of general astonishment; nor would any of us have believed so improbable a Story, merely on the evidence of * another. He had thus subsisted during an interval of nineteen Days. The hand of Providence was visible both in his preservation, and our own.

(IX.) The Wind was quite favourable during our passage to *St. Mark*; and I was convinced, from the observations I made, that without the assistance of our *English* Friends, I should never have reached the Fort; it being fifteen Leagues from the spot where *Mr. Wright* found us; and a number of wide, deep, and rapid Rivers crossed our way. On the same Day, *May the 8th*, we all arrived in safety at the Fort, about seven in the Evening, and

* But little Nourishment is required to preserve Life, when the Body is in a state of habitual abstinence: during the paroxysms of illness, and whilst it remains in a state of rest, the smallest portion of Sustenance is sufficient. The Weather also was favourable for *la Couture*. The Seaman who was exposed on the Ice, from the 28th of *January* to the 9th of *March*, (see page 87,) displayed an instance of preserving Life to a still longer period.

were received with the utmost humanity by Lieutenant *Swettenham*. His Surgeon was immediately ordered to attend us, and supply us with such Medicines as we required.—Thus terminated our Sufferings, which commenced with Shipwreck on the 16th of *February*, 1766, and continued, with little intermission of Peril and Misery, until the 7th of *May*, comprehending a space of eighty-one Days. What a Century did these Days appear !

For some time our situation was extremely critical. Our Bodies were so much swelled and inflamed, that the Surgeon had but little hope. *Madame la Couture* was the first who recovered : It was long before her Son was out of danger ; his Case was very desperate. Rest, and proper nourishment, taken in small proportions at a time, gradually restored us all.

I remained thirteen Days in the Fort, during which I obtained some account of the Villain *Antonio*, and of the eight Seamen we had left, from a Savage Chief, who brought dispatches from *Pensacola*, to Lieutenant *Swettenham* : Our unhappy Shipmates, after waiting a considerable Time for the return of the Savage ; until suspicion of his Treachery inflamed their irritated Minds to a state of Madness ; rushed on his Mother, Sister, and Nephew, and murdered them in their Sleep. They then took possession of a Canoe, with Fire Arms and Ammunition ; and as that Vessel could only

carry five Persons at a Time, they cast Lots for the three who were to remain behind. Two Days afterwards *Antonio* returned to the Island, with a superior force, to carry off the remainder of our Effects; and endeavoured to satiate his Revenge, and Disappointment, by the blood of those who were abandoned to his fury. He then returned to his Clan, and published an Account of what had happened.

We could never ascertain what became of these five Seamen who embarked in the Canoe; but as every human possibility was strongly against their ever reaching a place of safety, I fear, that of the sixteen Persons, who set out on this unfortunate Voyage, three only have survived.

When the above mentioned thirteen Days were expired, I found my health so much restored, that I resolved to embrace an opportunity which then offered, and which was not likely often to occur in so unfrequented a Port; of embarking in a Vessel bound for *St. Augustine*, another *English* Settlement on the East Coast of *Cape Florida*. *Madame la Couture* would have accompanied me, but her Son's health was not yet sufficiently re-established. Besides, she was anxiously expected by her Relations in *Louisiana*, of which Country she was a Native. We parted with mutual regret; and amidst the Tears that fell on both sides on our separation, after having travelled and suffered so long together; I shall never forget the sensibility of her Son. This

interesting young Man, who was still confined to his Bed, raised himself on his Knees, and leaning on us both, exclaimed, *Great God! preserve him, who restored my Mother, and called me back to Life!*

At length I forced myself away, and went to make my acknowledgments to Lieutenant *Swettenham*, and *Mr. Wright*, who accompanied me to the Ship; where I found they had already provided ample Stores for the Passage, and recommended me strongly to the Captain. Lieutenant *Swettenham* also entrusted me with Dispatches for the Governor of *St. Augustine*; and delivered to me *Mr. Wright's* Certificate, of the situation and circumstances in which we were found.

The Voyage to *St. Augustine* occupied twenty-four Days; and from the very moment we set sail, the brutality of the Captain was apparent. After the first three or four Days, he even denied me, though so great an invalid, the common beverage of fresh Water; and had I remained a Day or two longer on board, I must have experienced a relapse. On the 13th of *June* I landed at *St. Augustine*, and immediately delivered Lieutenant *Swettenham's* dispatches to *Mr. Grant* the Governor; from whom I received the most hospitable and humane attention. Owing to the hardships I had been exposed to during the Passage, some Ulcers had broke out in my Neck, and my Body had again begun to swell:

but the care I now received soon removed all these Symptoms, and by the 7th of *July* I was able to walk about, and see the Town. I can never reflect, without the most grateful sensibility, on the goodness and charitable disposition of these three generous *Englishmen*, which, as a Foreigner, I had not reason to expect. But I was in Distress, and that was a sufficient claim on their Benevolence.

I remained with Governor *Grant* until the 21st of *July*, when I left him, for *New York*. The manner in which this benevolent Man completed his kindness, must not be omitted. He sent for the Captain of the Ship; and after giving me, with warm recommendations, into his charge, paid him before hand for my Passage, and ordered every accommodation he could think of; to which he added a Portmanteau filled with Clothes and Linen, which were indeed a comfort. When I attempted to express my feelings, *I must just beg leave to interrupt you, Sir, for I have done no more than I wish others to do for me, in a similar situation.*

After fourteen Days sail, with a Captain who was entirely the reverse of the former one; and who, from the apparent cordiality of his disposition, would have treated me with equal kindness, even if I had not been recommended by the Governor, I arrived at *New York* on the third of *August*, 1766: and having made myself known to some *French* families who had settled there, they introduced me to

Monsieur Depeyster, one of the richest Merchants in that City, who kindly offered me employment in my Profession. Thus, from the moment I was redeemed from an horrid Desert, where I was within a few minutes of my Dissolution, I met with no person, excepting one, but who possessed a liberal Mind, an humane Heart, and a generous Soul

While I passed my time in perfect Tranquillity under the roof of the hospitable *Depeyster*, I wrote to my Family, and acquainted them with my being alive, after such a variety of difficulties and misfortunes during the space of eighty-one Days. It was this Letter, my dear Friend, which being only a summary of what I had endured, did not satisfy your anxious curiosity. I remained with *Monsieur Depeyster* until the *February* ensuing, 1767, when I was entrusted by him with charge of a Cargo for *Nantes*. I sailed from *New York* on the sixth, and arrived safely on the twenty-seventh. At *Nantes* I wrote again to my Friends, from whom I received answers, and among them your Letter, pressing me to send a more minute and circumstantial account of my Adventures. I can refuse nothing to your Friendship; and have accordingly employed what leisure my avocations would permit, to draw up, in this Narrative, the whole series of Facts, as they took place in regular succession. I doubt not but this melancholy Relation will affect you much, and

make you often tremble at the Perils and Miseries which your Friend experienced. May they serve to increase the reciprocal regard we have long experienced for each other.—Adieu.

PIERRE VIAUD.

* * * The *Tafia* mentioned in the above Narrative, is the French term for Rum.

In the *Bucaniers of America* (first Edition 4to, 1684, p. 45,) the following account is given of the species of *Cayman*, which *Viaud* killed, (p. 236):

“ That terrible Beast, called *Cayman*, is a species of *Cocodrile*, wherewith *Hispaniola* aboundeth. Some are found of a corpulency very horrible: such have been seen, as had no less than threescore and ten foot in length, and twelve in breadth. Yet more marvellous than their bulk, is their cunning and subtilty, wherewith they purchase their Food. Many Writers have made entire Treatises of these Animals.” Also page 102, part 3.

“ These Animals would usually come every Night to the sides of our Ship, and make resemblance of climbing up into the Vessel. One of these on a certain Night, we seized with an iron hook: but he instead of flying to the bottom, began to mount the Ladder of the Ship, till we killed him with other Instruments.”

CHAPTER V.

NORTH ATLANTIC.

*The dangerous Adventures, and imminent Escapes
of Captain Richard * Falconer.*

EXTRACT FROM THE PREFACE.

'TIS in compliance with Sir Roger L'Estrange's maxim, " That a Man had as good go to Court without a Cravat as appear in Print without a Preface," that I give the gentle Reader any interruption of this kind: for to be plain with him, the Book itself, as full of Misfortunes, as it is, is but a Preface to the Misfortunes I have met with since its first publication; which I must freely confess, are wholly owing to the bent of my own head-strong inclination, in not taking my

* Printed for J. Marshall, in Gracechurch Street, 12mo. fourth Edition, 1734. The first Edition, therefore, was probably something prior to the appearance of Robinson Crusoe, in 1719.

Father's advice, at my first setting out into the World.

To conclude; if Mr. Dennis, or any other Critick of renown, shall think fit to fall foul on me, to such I shall only reply, in the words of the same Gentleman, with whom I began my Preface: "Those that don't like my Book, may let it alone, and there's no harm done." VALE.

THE NARRATIVE.

(I.) I WAS born at *Bruton*, a Market Town in *Somersetshire*, of Parents tolerably well to pass in the World: my Mother died when I was very young. My Father, *Richard Falconer*, had been a great Traveller in his Youth, and frequently repeating his Adventures abroad, made me have a great desire to follow his Steps. I often begged he would let me go to Sea with some Captain of his Acquaintance; but he would reply, *Stay where you are; you know not the Hazards and Dangers that attend a Sea Life: think no more of going to Sea: I know it is only the desire of Youth, prone to change: If I should give you leave, one Week's Voyage would make you wish to be at Home again.* I used all the Arguments my age prompted me with, but to no purpose: my Father was not to be moved; and thus I lived two Years longer with him, in expectation of a change in his Mind. At

last an event happened that furthered my desires ; and though it was the ruin of our Family, I must confess I did not feel it in its full force.

My Father was Supervisor of a Tax upon the burning of Pipes ; and having collected a Sum amounting to 3,800*l.* to pay to Government for the King's use, he was robbed of the whole by an Exciseman, who made his escape. My Father employed all possible means to apprehend him without noise, but his endeavours were fruitless : So finding his Affairs in a desperate condition, he resolved to retire to some part of the World where he might be safe from the griping hands of the Law. One Morning, just before his voluntary Exile, he called me to him : “ *Richard,*” said he, “ you have been often desirous of going to Sea, and I have always used arguments to dissuade you from it : but now, since what has happened, it being impossible for me to continue upon the Place of my Birth the Patrimony of my Ancestors, I must e'en recommend that way of Life to you, which I should never have chose, but that the exigency of my affairs will not permit me to provide any other way for you. Here, continued he, take this hundred pounds, which I can ill spare out of my little Fortune ; but since it is all I can do for you, take it, and may Heaven prosper thy Undertakings ! may the blessing of a Father always live with you, whose prayers shall ever be sent to our Almighty Creator for thy Wel-

fare. Here is also a Letter of Recommendation for you to Captain *Pultney*, of *Bristol*, whose Friendship I am sure will be of service to you." With that, he embraced me with tears in his eyes, gave me his blessing, and took his leave for ever ; for my eyes have not beheld him since.

This Parting, I think, was the greatest grief my heart had ever known till then : but the joy of being at liberty to follow my own desires, soon drowned my Sorrow for parting with so good a Parent.

I had now nothing more to do, but to provide little baggage, in order to go to *Bristol*. I packed up my things in a Portmanteau, and gave them to an old Servant of my Father's, who would see me as far as *Bristol* for his Sake. We set out in the Morning, and reached it by Noon. I inquired for Captain *Pultney*, and soon found him out. I acquainted him who I was, and gave him my Father's Letter.

Captain *Pultney* received me with much cordiality, and promised to procure me a good Birth ; until which, he said, I should be as welcome as his own Son. By his advice I studied the Mathematics ; and when he thought I was capable of performing the duties of a Mate, or rather Assistant, he sent me on board the *Albion* Frigate, Captain *Wase* Commander ; and on the second of *May*, 1699, we set sail, bound for *Jamaica* with a fair

Wind. As soon as we lost sight of Land I began to be extremely Sea-sick, and bore the Jests of the Sailors but indifferently : who cried out, *There's an excellent Master's Mate, he'll hit Jamaica to an hair, if the Island were no bigger than the Bung-hole of a Cask.* I must confess I believe myself to be the only person who ever went on his first Voyage as Master's Mate, without having seen a River that was navigable. But in a Day or two I was perfectly well, and was never troubled with any Sickness afterwards.

Nothing material happened to us, till we entered the Bay of *Biscay*, where we encountered a dreadful Storm. The Billows ran Mountains high, and our Vessel seemed to be the Sport of the Waves.—A Ship that overtook us the Day before, and accompanied us ; though it were not at half a Furlong distance, was sometimes lost, by reason of the height of the Waves. The Storm continued with this Violence three Days, and at last abated something of its fierceness, but still blew very hard. The other Vessel, by firing a Gun, and shewing a Signal, made it appear she was in distress ; but the Sea ran so high it was impossible to give them any assistance : yet we bore down to them, being to windward, as nigh as we could, without danger to ourselves. We inquired into the matter, and found she had sprung a Leak ; they had all hands to pump by turns, but yet the Water gained

on them. They begged of us to hoist out our Boat, their own being staved, to give them succour. Accordingly we put out our Long-Boat, with two of our Men in it; but the Rope that held her to the Ship, broke by the violence of the Waves, and drove away with the two unfortunate Men in her, and what became of them we could never learn. Undoubtedly they were lost, or perished with hunger, as we were twenty Leagues from any Shore. The Ship, after the utmost exertions from the Crew, sunk in less than ten minutes. Out of fifty-seven Men, four only were saved, and they providentially held on by the Ropes we had thrown out: our bearing down to leeward was the only means we could have adopted to save them.

And here we ought to admire the interference of Providence: for this very Vessel was a Pirate, one Captain *Jones* commander, who left *Dover* in a large open Boat; and, when near *Ostend*, stole during the Night on a *French* Ship, murdered the Captain and some others, and set all the Sailors ashore who would not unite in their designs: they had also resolved to attack us when the Storm was over. The four we saved, consisted of three *Englishmen* and one *Frenchman*, who said they were forced, with several others, by Captain *Jones*, to enter on that course of Life: but whether true or false I cannot tell. They behaved with great propriety during our Voyage.

The Storm still continued, but the Wind was fair: so we ran it away with a rived Fore-sail all Night; and the next Morning we had a violent Storm of Rain, with Thunder. About Noon the Sky cleared up, the Wind continuing fair, with a middling Gale.

We made the *Canaries*, and the *Peake of Teneriffe* on the 28th of *May*; and saw that Island, or rather Rock, of stupendous height. We passed the Tropick attended by the Tropick Bird, a Fowl somewhat larger than a Pigeon; but one would think, as it flies, that an unlighted Candle was attached to it's Tail. After a desperate Action with a Pirate, who boarded us and was beat off, on five in the Evening, of July the 4th, we anchored in *Carlisle Bay, Barbadoes*. On the 20th of *July* we sailed for *Jamaica*, and the first of *August* anchored at *Mevis*, or *Nevis*. We proceeded for *Jamaica* on the 21st of *August*, and on the 7th of *September* anchored in *Port Royal Harbour*.

This Island is the only Mart of all *America* for the *English*. Provision is very dear. I was nightly surprised to see a Market for Turtle, in the same manner as our Butchers: This is a Meat, or rather Fish of an odd nature, but of an excellent taste. It is the common diet of the slaves, or meaner sort of People; but if Strangers eat too much of it, it is apt to give them the flux.

The Potatoes are very fine, exceeding in my opinion even those of *Ireland*. The Onions of *Jamaica* are milder, and better tasted than our *English* ones. The chief Harbour, after *Port Royal*, is *Port St. Anthony*, on the North; a very safe, commodious, land-locked Harbour: only the coming in is something difficult; the Channel being narrowed by a little Island, that lies off the Mouth. 3dly, *Porto-morant*, a very capacious Harbour, where Ships do conveniently wood and water, and ride safe from all Winds. 4thly, On the South, is *Port Gagway*, which is much the largest of all that has been mentioned, it being five Leagues over in some Places. It is land-locked by a point of Land that runs S.W. from the Main of the Island. The Road is so deep, that a Ship of a thousand Tons may lay her side to the Shore of the Point, and load or unload at pleasure, with Planks afloat.

(II.) Now finding our affairs would detain us half a Year longer, I got leave of the Captain to go in a Sloop, with some of my acquaintance, to get Logwood; and on *September* the 25th we set sail for the Bay of *Campeche*, with a fair Wind. The old manner of getting this Wood is as follows:—A Company of desperate Fellows go together in a Sloop, well armed, and land by stealth; but in case of any resistance, the whole Crew attend on the Cutters, ready armed to defend them; indeed there is a Colony of *English* that sell this *Logwood*, but

many choose the other way ; all this was strange to me, for I knew nothing of the concern till we were out at Sea.

There was one fellow who told me, that about ten Years before, he went with a Vessel, and they took the same Method as usual in getting it ; and landed all their Men but six, whom they left on board to look after the Vessel : in the mean time the *Spaniards*, having intelligence of their descent, sent an hundred Men, in several Canoes, to seize their Vessel ; which accordingly they did, without any resistance from the six Men on board. After they had put these Men under the Hatches, they searched and ransacked the Vessel, sending every thing on Shore that was of any value. Then they prepared to trepan the Crew, as they came on board, which happened the very next Night ; when some of the Men, coming on board with a Load of Logwood, the *Spaniards* caused the six Men to stand upon Deck, and on pain of Death not to discover the truth of the matter ; which happened, as they desired : for the Men coming on board carelessly, without their Arms, were all seized immediately, and put in Irons. The rest that were on Shore, wondering at the stay of the Boat, sent a Canoe with six Men to know the reason of their delay, which were likewise taken in the same Trap with the former. The Man that told me this Story, was one of these last six, who found means secretly

in the Middle of the Night to slip into the Water, and swam ashore, though half a League off; where he happily informed the rest of the Crew, which were forty-three, of the Misfortune that had happened to the rest of their Companions.

We sailed before the Wind six Days together, towards the Bay: but on the seventh, the Clouds darkened and the Welkin seemed all on fire, with Lightning, and the Thunder roared louder than ever I heard it in my Life: in short, a dreadful Hurricane approached, which was suspected by a deceitful Calm, and Showers of Rain. The Sailors had furled their Sails, and lowered their Top-masts, waiting for it under a double reefed Fore-sail. At length it came with extreme violence, which lasted three hours, until it insensibly abated, and brought on a stark Calm. We then loosed our Sails in expectation of the Wind, which stole out again in half an hour. About six in the Evening we saw a Water-spout, an aerial Engine or Limbeck, that draws up the Salt Water of the Sea, and distills it into fresh Showers of Rain: This Cloud comes down in form of a Pipe of Lead of a vast thickness, and by the force of the Sun sucks up a great quantity of Water. I stood an hour to observe it. After it had continued about half an hour in the Water, it drew up insensibly by degrees, till it was lost in the Clouds; but in the closing of the same, it shut out some of the Water, which fell

into the Sea again, with a Noise like that of Thunder; and occasioned a Smoke in the Water that continued for a considerable Time.

October the 6th, we anchored at *Trist Island*, in the Bay of *Campeche*, and sent our Men ashore at *Logwood Creek*, to seek for the Logwood Cutters, who immediately came on board. The Bargain was soon struck; and in exchange for our Rum and Sugar, and a little Money, we got in our Lading in eight Days, and set sail for *Jamaica* the fifteenth Day of *October*. Now in getting up to *Jamaica* again, generally takes up two Months; because we are obliged to ply it all the way to Windward.

(III.) I one Day went down into the Hold to bottle off a small Parcel of Wine I had there: Coming upon Deck again, I wanted to clean myself, but did not care to go into the Water; so went into the Boat astern, that we had hoisted out in the Morning to look after a Wreck. Having washed and dressed myself, I took a Book out of my Pocket, and sat reading in the Boat; when, before I was aware, a Storm began to rise, so that I could not get up the Ship's side as usual, but called for the Ladder of Ropes, that hangs over the Ship's Quarter, in order to get up that way: whether it was not fastened above, or whether it broke through rottenness, as being seldom used, I cannot tell; but down I fell into the Sea: and though the Ship (as they told

me afterwards) tacked about to take me up, if it were possible, yet I lost sight of them, through the Duskiness of the Evening, and the Storm. I had the most dismal fears that could ever possess any one in my condition: I was forced to drive with the Wind, which save (by good fortune) with the Current; and having kept myself above Water, as near as I could guess in this fright, four hours, I felt my feet every now and then touch Ground; and at last, by a great Wave I was thrown and left upon the Sand. Yet it being dark, I knew not what to do; but I got up and walked, as well as my tired Limbs would let me; and every now and then was overtaken by the Waves, which were not high enough to wash me away.

When I had got far enough, as I thought, to be out of danger, I could not discover any thing of Land; and I immediately conjectured that it was but some bank of Sand, that the Sea would overflow at high Tide. Whereupon I sat down to rest my weary Limbs, and fit myself for Death: for that was all I could expect, in my own opinion. Then all my Sins came flying in my Face. I offered up my fervent Prayers, not for my safety, because I did not expect any such thing, but for all my past offences: And I may really say, I expected my dissolution with a Calmness, that led me to hope I had made my Peace with Heaven. At last I fell asleep; though I tried all I could

against it, by getting up; and walking, till I was obliged through weariness to lie down again.

When I awoke in the Morning, I was amazed to find myself among four or five very low sandy Islands, separated half a mile or more, as I guessed, by the Sea. With that I began to be a little cheerful, and walked about to see if I could find any thing that was eatable: but to my great grief I found nothing but a few Eggs, which I was obliged to eat raw. The fear of starving seemed to me to be worse than that of drowning; and often did I wish that the Sea had swallowed me, rather than thrown me on this desolate Island: For I could perceive, by the evenness of them, that they were not inhabited either by Man or Beast, or any thing else but Rats, and several Sorts of Fowl.

Upon this Island there were some Bushes of a Wood they call *Burton Wood*, which used to be my shelter at Night: but to complete my Misery, there was not to be found one drop of fresh Water any where: so that I was forced to drink Urine for two or three days, which made my Skin come off like the peal of a broiled Codlin. At last my misery so increased, that I often was in the mind of terminating my Life; but desisted, from the expectation I had, that some Alligator, or other voracious Creature, would come and do it for me. Strange circumstances indeed!

I had lived a Week upon Eggs only, when by

good Fortune I discovered a *Booby* sitting upon a Bush. I ran immediately, as fast as I could, and knocked it down with a Stick. I never considered whether it was proper food ; but sucked the Blood, and ate the Flesh, with such a pleasure as none can express, but those who have felt the pain of Hunger to the same degree as myself. After I had devoured this Banquet, I walked about, and discovered many more of these Birds, which I killed.

My Stomach being now pretty well appeased, I began to consider whether I could not, with two sticks, make a Fire, as I had seen the Blacks do in *Jamaica*: I tried with all the Wood I could get, and at last happily accomplished it. This done, I gathered some more Sticks, and made a Fire ; picked several of my Boobies, and broiled them as well as I could ; and now I resolved to come to an allowance.—This Bird is a Water-fowl, about the bigness of a large Crow ; of a grey colour ; and is such a Booby, that it will not get out of your way without beating.

At Night, I and the rest of my Fellow-inhabitants endured a great Storm of Rain and Thunder, with the reddest Lightning I had ever seen ; which well washed us all, I believe. As for myself, my Clothes, which were only a pair of thin Shoes and Thread Stockings, and a Cotton Waistcoat and Breeches, were soundly wet ; but I had this happiness, to find in the Morning several cavities of Rain Water,

which put in my head a thought of making a deep Well, or hollow Place, that I might have Water continually by me ; which I brought to Perfection in this manner : I took a piece of Wood, and pitched upon a place under a Burton Tree, where with my Hands and the Stick together, I dug a Hole, or Well, big enough to contain a Hogshead of Water ; then I put in Stones and paved it, and got in and stamped them down hard all round, and with my Sticks beat the Sides close, so that I made it capable of holding Water for a long Time.

But now the difficulty was, how to get the Water there ; which at last I contrived also : for by soaking my Shirt in Water for some Time, afterwards it would bear it very well. So with this Holland Bucket I could carry two Gallons of Water at a Time, two hundred Yards ; and in two Days I had filled my Well.

I now began to think of Life again for a while ; for I had ready broiled forty of these Boobies, designing to allow myself half an one a Day. I also made myself a Cupboard of Earth by mixing Water with it, which was four Feet in length, three in height, and two in breadth. It lasted but four Days, the Sun drying it so fast that it cracked, and afterwards fell in pieces. What most amazed me and pleased me together, was, that my Boobies continued sweet without the least taint. I had a small *Ovid* printed by *Elziver*, which by good

fortune was in my Breeches Pocket, when I was going up the Ladder of Ropes ; and by being pressed close was not quite spoiled, but only the Cover off, and a little stained with the Wet. This was a great mitigation of my misfortunes ; for I could entertain myself with this Book, under a Burton Bush, till I fell asleep. I remained always in good health, only a little troubled with the Head-ache, for want of an Hat, which I lost in the Water, in falling down from the Ladder of Ropes. But I remedied this as well as I could, by gathering a parcel of Chicken-weed, which grows there in Plenty, and strewing it over the Burton Bushes, under which I sat. Nay at last, finding my Time might be longer there than I expected, I tore off one of the Sleeves of my Shirt, and lined a wooden Cap that I had made of green Sprigs, and twisted with the green Bark that I peeled off ; so that if I had been seen in this Figure, I should have appeared like a Madman, with the Basket of a Cudgel upon his Head.

One Day coming from washing myself, which I used often to do to cool me, I heard a flouncing in the Water ; and turning my Head to see whence it came, I saw the strangest Fish I believe that ever was known. It had, as I suppose, chased some other Fish, and run itself too far on the Sand ; and the Tide being almost at the lowest, had left it there. It was, as near as I could guess, about fifteen Feet

long, with a Head like a Horse, and out of the Mouth came two Horns curled like a Ram's Horn, only twice as large. It had but one Eye, and that was at the extremity of the Nose ; it seemed, as it flounced, to be something of a changeable Ash Colour, with a Tail that tapered to the end in a sharp Point: It looked so terrible to me, that I was afraid to approach it ; and, as it laboured, it seemed to groan. It remained in this Hole of Water half an hour, with its Body in and its tail out: when the Water was pretty high, it turned its Head, and made a noise something like the Clucking of a Hen with Chickens, but louder. After it had recovered itself, as I imagined, it gave a spring into deep Water, and I saw it no more.

I had now been here a month by my reckoning, and in that time my Skin looked as if it had been rubbed over with Walnut Shells. I several times thought to have swam to one of the other Islands ; but as they looked only like heaps of Sand, I believed I had got the best Birth: so contented myself with my own Station. Boobies I could get enough, who build on the ground ; and another Bird that lays Eggs, which I used to eat: but I never ventured to taste the Eggs. I was so well satisfied with my Boobies, that I did not care to try experiments.

This Island which I was upon, seemed to me to be about two Miles in circumference, and was al-

most round. On the West side there is a good Anchoring-place, for the Water is very deep, within two fathom of the Shore. God forgive me! but I often wished to have had Companions in my misfortune; and hoped every day, either to have seen some Vessel come that way, or a Wreck, where perhaps I might have found some Necessaries which I wanted: But I would check myself in these wanderings, as not becoming a Christian: yet they would as often awake in my Mind, in spite of all my devotion and other good thoughts, it being natural to desire Company. I used to fancy, that if I should be forced to stay there long, I should *forget my speech; so I used to talk aloud, ask myself questions, and answer them. But if any body had been by to have heard me, they would certainly have thought me bewitched, I often asked myself such odd questions. All this while I could not inform myself where I was, nor how near any inhabited place.

(IV.) One Morning, which I took to be the 8th of *November*, a violent Storm arose, which continued till Noon. In the mean time I discerned a Bark labouring with the Waves for several Hours; and at last, with the violence of the Tempest, perfectly thrown out of the Water upon the Shore, within a

* It would seem from this, and other passages, that the Author of *Robinson Crusoe* had taken some hints from this Volume: presuming, as I do, that the first Edition of it was printed previous to the Romance of *Crusoe*, that was published in 1719.

quarter of a Mile from the place where I observed them. I ran to see if there were any body I could be assisting to; when I found four Men (being all that were in the Vessel) busy about saving what they could. When I came up with them, and hailed them in English, they seemed mightily surprised: they asked me *how I came there*, and *how long I had been there?* When I told them my Story, they were concerned for themselves, as well as for me, for they found there was no possibility of getting their Bark off the Sands; being the Wind had forced her so far. With that we began to bemoan one another's Misfortunes: but I must confess to you, without lying, I was never more rejoiced in my whole Life; for they had on board plenty of every thing for a twelvemonth, and not any article spoiled. Their lading (which was Logwood) they had thrown over-board to lighten the Ship; which was the occasion of the Wind forcing her so far: Had they kept in their lading, they would have bulged in the Sands, half a quarter of a Mile from the place where they did; and the Sea flying over them, would not only have spoiled their Provisions, but perhaps have been the death of them all. By these Men I understood what place I had got to, *viz.* one of the Isles of *Alcranes*; which are five Islands, or rather large Banks of Sand; for there is not a Tree, nor Bush, upon any but that where we were. They lie in the Latitude

of twenty-two degrees North, twenty-five Leagues from *Jucatan*, and about sixty from *Campeche* Town. We worked as fast as we could, and got out every thing that would be useful to us before Night. We had six barrels of salt Beef, three of Pork, two of Pease, and two of Flour, and eleven barrels of Bisket; a small Copper, and iron Pot; several wearing Clothes, and a spare Hat, which I wanted nightly. We had besides several eags of Rum, and one of Brandy, and a chest of Sugar, with many other things of use, some Gun-powder, and one Fowling-piece. We took off the Sails from the Yards, and with some pieces of Timber raised a Tent big enough to hold twenty Men, under which we put their Beds, that we got from the Bark. It is true we had no shelter from the Wind, for the Trees were so low they were of no use to us. I now thought myself in a Palace, and was as merry as if I had been at *Jamaica*, or even at home in my own Country: I could joke now and then, and tell a merry tale. In short, when we had been there some time, we began to be very easy, and to wait contentedly, till Providence should fetch us out of this Island. The Bark lay upon the Sands, fifty yards from the Water when at the highest; so that I used to lie in her Cabin, by reason there were no more Beds ashore, than were for my four Companions; viz. *Thomas Randal*, of *Cork* in *Ireland*, whose Bed was

largest, which he did me the favour to spare a part of now and then, when the Wind was high, and I did not care to lie on board; *Richard White*, of *Port-Royal*, *William Musgrave* of *Kingston* in *Jamaica*, and *Ralph Middleton*, of *Cowes* in the *Isle of Wight*. These Men, with eight others, set out of *Port-Royal* about a Month after us, bound for the same Place: but the latter lying ashore, and wandering too far up in the Country, were met, as it is supposed, by some *Spaniards* and *Indians*, who set upon them. Yet by all appearance they fought desperately: for when Mr. *Randal*, and Mr. *Middleton*, went to seek for them, they found all the eight dead, with fifteen *Indians*, and two *Spaniards*. All the *Englishmen* had several cuts in their heads, arms, breasts, &c. that made it very plainly appear they had sold their lives dearly: they were too far up in the Country, to bring down their dead; so they were obliged to dig an hole in the earth, and put them in, as they lay, in their Clothes. As for the *Indians*, and *Spaniards*, they stripped them and left them above Ground, as they found them; and made all the haste they could to embark, for fear of any other unlucky accident that might happen. They set sail as soon as ever they came on board, and made the best of their way for *Jamaica*; till they were overtaken by the Storm that shipwrecked them on *Make Shift Island*, as I had

named it. When I told them of the strange Fish I had observed, there was not one of them, but Mr. *Musgrave*, that had ever seen the like; and he told me, when he was a prisoner in *Mexico*, he had found one there, and they called it the *Ram Fish*: but, he added, I was mistaken concerning the Eyes, for they were on the top of the Head, yet very little, not bigger than a Musket Ball; and that which I took for an Eye, was an hole that they sometimes spouted Water through. The one he saw at *Mexico*, was carried about for a Show in a Cart; it was but eight feet and an half in length, and was, by order of the Viceroy, sent two Leagues into the Bay, to be buried: for it stunk so intolerably, they were afraid it would breed Infection.

Now we had all manner of Fishing Tackle with us, but we wanted a Boat to go a little way from Shore to catch Fish; therefore we set our Wits to work, in order to make some manner of Float; and at last we pitched upon this odd Project: We took six Casks, and tarred them all over, then stopped up the Bungs with Cork, and nailed them close down with a piece of tarred Canvas. These six Casks we tied together with some of the Cords of the Vessel, and upon them we placed the skuttles of the Deck, and fixed them; and made it so strong, that two Men might easily sit upon them: but for fear a Storm should happen, we tied to one end of her a Coil or two of small Rope, of five hundred

Fathoms long, which we fixed to a stake on the Shore. Then two of them went out, (as for my part, I was no Fisherman) in order to see what success they should have ; but returned with only one Nurse, a Fish so called, about two Feet long, something like a Shark, only its Skin is very rough, and, when dry, will do the same office as a Seal Skin. The same, boiled in Lemon Juice, is the only Remedy in the World for the *Scurvy*, by applying pieces of the Skin to the Calves of your Legs, and rubbing your Body with some of the Liquor once or twice. We sent out our Fishermen the next day again, and they returned with two old Wives, and a young Shark about two Feet long, which we dressed for Dinner, and they proved excellent eating. In the Morning following, we killed a young Seal with our Fowling-piece. This we salted, and it ate very well, after lying two or three Days in the Brine.

We passed our Time in this *Make Shift Island* as well as we could, and invented several Games to divert ourselves. One Day, when we had been merry, Sorrow, as after Gaiety often happens, stole insensibly on us all. I, as being the youngest, began to reflect on my sad condition, in spending my Youth on a barren Land, without hopes of being ever redeemed : Whereupon Mr. *Randal*, being the eldest, rose up and delivered the following Narrative, as nigh as I can remember :

“ (V.) Mr. *Falconer*, and my Fellow Sufferers : but it is to you,” pointing at me, “ that I chiefly address my Speech ; being you seem to despair of a redemption from this Place, more than any other. Is not the Providence of a Power Supreme shown in every accident in the Life of Man ? Even you yourself, how much better is your Condition now, than you could have imagined it would have been a Month ago ? There is a virtue in manly Suffering ; and to repine, seems to doubt the all-seeing Power which regulates our Actions. Think you that the Divine Providence which cast *Jonas* from the Bowels of the Whale, has not the same power still left, to aid and fetch us from this Place ?

“ Here,” pursued he, “ we have every thing that can be required to satisfy Nature ; we have Beds to lie on, and a covering from the Weather ; we have Provisions for a Twelvemonth ; and, if we should continue here a longer Time, we need not fear starving, the very Island producing where-withal to support Nature, as Eggs and Fowls : and though there is no River, or Rivulet of fresh Water, yet it rains so frequently, we need not fear even that, being we have Vessels enough to save it in. You have the least reason to spurn at Providence of any one here, that had only an hole in the Earth to save Water ; which had not lasted two Days, before we, very happily for you, were thrown on Shore. Is there not a Providence in being thrown

on Land, when you expected drowning before the Morning dawned? Is there not a Providence in getting Food, when you expected to starve? Is there not a Providence in getting Fire, by rubbing two Sticks, which you know you could not do since, though we have all endeavoured at it? And was it not a Providence that we were thrown here, which brought you all sorts of Provisions, (I mean all that is necessary,) with Flint, and Steel, and other Utensils? And can you then doubt of a farther Providence, that have had all these? Besides, seven Company is some allay to Sorrow: You were alone before, and had only yourself to talk to. Our Bark is strong and firm; and by degrees I do not doubt, but with Time and much Labour, to get her into the Water again. I have been aboard her this Morning, when you were all asleep; and examined her carefully inside and out, and fancy our Liberty may soon be effected. I only wonder we have never thought before of clearing the Sand from our Vessel; which once done, I believe we may launch her out into deep Water. We have all our Tackling, Sails, and Masts intire, without damage. I don't despair of the mercy of God in working our Deliverance, whose Ways are past the Knowledge of us poor insignificant Mortals. I myself have more than once been in the same, or a worse Condition.

“ In a Voyage I made twelve Years ago, I suffered Shipwreck, and not one person was saved

but myself. I set out from the City of *Cork*, in *Ireland*, on board a Bark bound for the *Baltick* : we passed the Streights of *Elsinor*, and *Helsingburg*, without meeting any thing material : when one Evening it began to thunder, lighten, and rain prodigiously ; the Storm was so violent, that we expected every moment when we should be drove on Shore on the Coast of *Swedenland*, or *Norway*, and be'dashed to pieces. The Storm continued so long, that all our Masts came by the board ; our Vessel sprung a Leak, and the Water gained upon us every moment : at last it overpowered us so much, that we left pumping, as believing it impossible to save ourselves ; and recommended our Souls to the mercy of the Lord. At last our Ship sunk downright, and most of our Men with it ; but I, and two more, had the good fortune to lay hold of the Main-mast ; that had been cut above Deck, being it was sprung below, and thrown overboard to prevent any danger ; which was entangled in some of the Cordage : but the Ship sinking downright, with the Rope that was turned to the Main-mast, gave it such a tug, that pulled it under Water ; but afterwards loosing or slipping off by good Fortune, it rose with two of us again, but the third was never seen after. The other that saved himself upon the Mast, was the Master, a Man about sixty Years old, who held pretty well for about an hour ; but, at last, through weakness and age, recommending

his Soul to God, fell off; yet called aloud for help; and I being willing to give him what assistance I could, laid hold of him: which I had no sooner done, but he grasped at me, and laying fast hold of the Skirt of my Waistcoat, having never a Coat on, pulled me off the Mast; but with his weight, and some struggling I made to save myself, my Skirt ripped off, and the Master sunk to the bottom. I, by good Fortune, laid hold of the Rigging that hung to the Mast; so once more got on stride it, but with little hopes of Life; doing my endeavour to save myself, with a Resignation to the Will of Heaven. At last, after being tossed about for two or three hours more, the end of the Mast rushed with such violence against a Rock, as I supposed, that with the Shock I was thrown off. I then laid hold of some of the Cordage again, and held fast, till it fixed itself in some of the craggy Cliffs of the Rock.

“ By this Time the Tempest was very much abated; and the Waves not dashing so often, nor so fierce, I found that the Mast hung on the craggy Cliffs of the Rock; which I climbed up as fast as I could, lest another Wave should dash me against it, and beat my Brains out. After I had got as high as I was able, and out of danger of the Waves, I kneeled down, and returned thanks to the Almighty for my wonderful Deliverance: which was wonderful indeed! For though the Mast beat so often against the Rock, yet I escaped without being so

much as bruised. When I had poured out the fullness of my Soul to the merciful Power that had protected me from such imminent danger, I composed myself to sleep with a calmness I could not account for ; Wonderful in every circumstance, that Providence should choose me out of thirty poor Souls that perished in the Stormy Deep, for a Monument of his Mercy. I slept, but yet my Dreams were troubled : I thought in my Sleep I was cast on Shore upon a barren Rock, where there was not a Creature but myself ; no Food, nor any thing to sustain Nature ; which proved too true. I was awakened by something that licked my Face, which in my fright I laid hold on ; but soon let it go again, upon finding it hairy, which startled me very much ; and though it was still dark, I could not get to sleep again, for the concern I was in, for fear some devouring Creature should come and seize me. I listened, and observed the Storm was laid, and the Dawn approaching. I began to compose my Mind, and steadfastly put my trust in Him that had hitherto preserved me.

“ When it came to be light enough to perceive any Object, I rose up, and began to view the place ; when, to my great surprise, I found it to be only a large Rock, about half a Mile in Circumference, as near as I could guess ; but the North Part so inaccessible, there was no getting to the top of it. Looking about me, I saw coming fawning towards

me, a large Bitch! which was the creature that had awakened me by licking my Face. I must confess I was surprised, and pleased, and made much of my new Companion. I hoped from it, I should find some human Creatures; but searching about, and not meeting with any, I was more grieved than before. Yet still I resigned myself to the will of Him, that sees all things, and knew it was in his power to fetch me out of Darkness, and the Shadow of Death. In walking up and down, in a little cavity of the Rock, I met with seven young sucking Puppies, that I found belonged to the Bitch, my Companion; for she gave them suck, which I staid a little while to observe. Then a thought came into my head, that this might be some resort for fishermen, and I should very shortly see some, that would take me from this desolate place.

“ I began to search about for something to sustain nature; but could find nothing but some Periwinkles, and other little shell-fish which I ventured to feed upon: for I now began to be very hungry. I wondered mightily at my poor Bitch, how she got food to support herself, and her seven young ones. I observed she used to leave me two or three times a day, but returned in a quarter of an hour. One day I had the curiosity to watch her; but she went so fast, I could not come up to her: still I followed, and at last came to the point of a Rock where she went down; and looking be-

low, saw her feeding upon a dead Seal. How it came there I could not suppose, neither could I go down the Rock to see farther, it being so dangerous a place. When she had eaten her fill, she came up again, and went to give her young ones suck. I was mightily put to it for Water, though there were good quantities in several cavities of the Rock; but so hard to come at, that sometimes I ventured breaking my neck to get it. Besides, I could not expect that would always last, for the Sun was pretty warm, though not intolerable. I had in my pocket a Knife and Fork, and a case of Lancets, but they were rusted by being wet, and of no use to me: for I could get nothing to exercise them on: except indeed my Fork, which served me to twist out my Perriwinkles.

“ I had now been here *fifteen days*, and nothing to feed on but these sort of shell-fish: yet still my strength and health continued to a miracle. I slept well, though my Bed was something hard: it was composed of part of the Rigging that came on Shore with the Mast, which I had untwisted, and pulled into Okum; and laid it under an hollow part of the Rock, where no Rain or Wind could hurt me: unless it blew hard South, which when it did, would force a little into my Bed-chamber.

“ Looking out one Day, I saw a Boat coming towards my rocky Island! the sight raised my Spirits wonderfully; but observing her narrowly, I

found she was only driven by the Wind and Tide, without any one in her. However, I got down the rock, and waited for her coming on Shore, which she did within twenty yards of me. I immediately got in to rummage her; and, merciful Providence! found twenty dried Fish, a Salt-box filled with Biscuit, and about half a pint of Brandy in a Bottle. After giving God thanks, with great sincerity of Soul, I fell to, and ate heartily. There were two Oars in the Boat, a Boat-hook, a small Fisher-Net, and a Tinder-box; with a Grappling Iron, and Rope for a Cable. Upon this, I began to be exceeding easy, and thought myself to be in a happy condition: I brought my Fish on Shore, and stowed it in my Bed-chamber; and over it, for fear of my Bitch, put several pieces of Ropes. I had a Tinder-box, and could strike a light, but had no Candle to burn, nor any Provision to dress.

“ After I had settled every thing as I would have it, I resolved to take my Boat, and go round the Rock, to see if I could discover any thing on the other side of the inaccessible part. Whereupon I took two of my dried Fish, and half a dozen Biscuits, and put myself on board: but my poor Bitch came to the Shore side, and took on so mightily, that I went and took her in. I rowed half round, as near as I could guess, the first day; but what made me so long was, that in some places I was obliged to row half a League from Shore, to avoid

Shallows which lay out towards the North-east side. I ventured to remain in my Boat all Night; and the next Morning went onward in my Voyage, and at last came to that part of the Rock, that I could not get over when I was a Shore. Here I found upon the ground a Nest of Eggs, about the bigness of a Duck-Egg; yet I could not discover what Fowl owned them; but I took them all away, and ventured to suck one of them, which I found as pleasant as a new laid Hen's-Egg. Here the Bitch grew very uneasy; and by her whining, and fruitless endeavours to pass the Rock, which was perpendicular, let me understand she wanted to be with her Puppies. Finding nothing here for my Benefit, but my Eggs, I got on board, and endeavoured to go round; which I did, till I came to the place where the Seal lay, that my Bitch found: but it stunk abominably. Yet she fell to, and after having ate, ran up the Rock; and so, as I suppose, to her Puppies. I went on board again; but there arose such a Fog of a sudden, that I could hardly see the length of the Boat; so rather chose to go back again than venture farther out of my knowledge, which I did in a little time, the Sea being higher over the Sand; and arrived at my own habitation.

“ I pulled up my Boat as high as I could, and went on Shore; and coming to visit my young Companions, found the weakest dead for want of the Dam; which I immediately took, cut open

and flayed off the Skin; which after being dried, I made a Cap of, by cutting it in form, and sewing it together with some fine Rope Yarn that I twisted on purpose, and my Fork I used instead of a Needle. The fat served me to make Candles, in this manner, by pulling to pieces fine Rope Yarn, and twisting it hard; then I struck a light, and with an Egg-shell heated my fat, and drew the Rope Yarn through it, so I provided myself with a new sort of Candle. But then I had but a small piece of match, and when that should be gone, I should be at a strange loss how to light my Candle.

“ Finding my Provision decrease, I came to an allowance of a quarter of a Fish a Day, and half a Bisket; and not to touch that, if I could get any Shell-Fish, which began to be scarce to: for some days I could not find above ten or twelve; and when I came first there, I used to take them up by handfuls. Upon this I began to reflect, that Winter was approaching, and consequently very cold Weather; and then perhaps I should not get any food. I resolved within myself to venture in my Boat, and sail which way the Wind should direct me: but then I was put to it for a Sail, for we had cut off the Yards and Sails of the Main-mast, before we threw it overboard. At last I thought of a white dimity Waistcoat that I wore, which was lined with linen; this I unripped, and

sowed together again ; so pieced the lining to the outsides, and made a tolerable Sail. , But in the mean time the Wind blew so high, that I durst not venture out ; and continued so long, that my Provision was diminished to two Fish, which almost put me to my wits end. Shell fish were not to be had. At last I resolved to kill one of my Bitch's Whelps ; which I did ; made a fire with some boards I found at the bottom of my Boat, and roasted it : it was palatable, and ate wonderfully well, they being not two months old. I do not question but you will all laugh at me, when I shall tell you, that it went very much against me to kill this harmless creature : but my Necessity had no law. Besides, I had observed but two days before, that the Seal, which was the dam's food, was gnawed to the bones. In short, after some strugglings with myself, I killed five of the six, and salted two of them : for after eating my Biskets out of the Salt box, I found a handful or two of Salt at the bottom, which I made use of in that manner. The Intrails I boiled, and gave to the Dam and other Puppy ; who ate of it heartily, making no scruple, though their own flesh and blood. The sixth, and last Puppy, I resolved not to kill, if I could help it, it being so like the Dam ; and would always be with me if it could, when the others would only play about the hole where they lay.

“ In short, I began to find the Weather cold :

and so resolved to set sail in my Boat, with my two Companions, my Bitch and Puppy. On the first of *September*, after being on the Rock from *May* the 30th, I set sail with the Wind about N.E. a middling Gale, and steering with my other Oar: for you must know my Boat-hook was my Mast; and a piece of slit Wood, that I saved from the Fire, was my Yard; so that I could make shift to ply it to Windward, upon occasion; but was resolved to sail before the Wind till I discovered Land; for my Boat being pretty large, and my sail but small, I could not make my way as I might have done, with a Sail fitted to the Boat.—I could not discover Land that Night, but sailed on till about Midnight: when I was so fatigued, that in spite of myself, I was obliged to lie along in the Boat, and fell asleep; and slept till I was awakened by a Fisherman in a Boat, whom I understood not, but found by his dialect to be a *Dane*. I gave him to understand my condition, by speaking and signs together; which he seemed to be sorry for, by beating his Breast, and shaking his Head.

“ He carried me ashore to a Village, where they made much of me, and gave me Clothes; but I would not stir without my Dogs. My Boat was sold, and the money given me for my own use. After I had staid at the Village three Days, I was carried to *Copenhagen*, to Mr. *Bridgewater* the Factor for several *English* Merchants, who made

a gathering for me, which amounted to twenty-seven pound in *English* money. The King of *Denmark* sent a person to me, who understood *English* very well, and took down the particulars of my Voyage in the *Danish* language, which I afterwards saw printed there: but no one could ever fix upon the Rock that I lived on. One said it was such an one, another, such an one; and some conjectured it to be a part of the Main Land of *Sweden*; which I should have found, if I had ventured further when hindered by the Fog.

“ But I forgot to tell you, that by printing this account, a Man came to demand his Boat. He said he had lost it by the carelessness of a Boy, to whom he had given it in Charge; who neglecting to fasten it on Shore, it drove out to Sea, and came where I had the good fortune to meet with it: or rather guided by the Eye of Providence, to be the means, or instrument, of saving my Life; but for that, I must have inevitably perished. The Fisherman that owned the Boat, had a new one given him in the room of it, and to the value of five pounds for the things it contained.

“ The Gentleman that was ordered to take the Notes, mentioned above, brought me an hundred *English* Guineas, collected from Merchants and Gentlemen of the City. The King likewise ordered me an hundred more from his privy Purse: so that on *November* the 18th, I went on board an *Eng-*

lish Ship, called *The Happy*, Captain *John Gibson* Commander. We immediately set sail for *Londan*, and arrived at *Deptford*, *December* the 25th, being Christmas-Day, 1688: but finding things out of order in *England*, I thought it was no place to settle in. So *January* the first, 1689, I took horse for *Bristol*, and thence embarked for *Cork*, where I had some small effects; and nappily arrived there, *January* the 14th; when I was welcomed from death by all my Friends.

“ But I forgot one thing, which happened to me at *Copenhagen*. Dining with the Gentleman that spoke *English* very well, and several other *Danes*, I happened to drink to him in *English*, with *Sir, my humble Service to you*, and I asked him if he would *Pledge me*. Upon which he told me, I must never mention *Pledging*, among *Danes*; for, added he, it is the greatest affront you can put upon them. *How so, Sir*, said I? Why, said he, I know it is your custom in *England*; but if you all knew the meaning of it, you would surely abolish it. Whereupon, I pressed him to tell me the foundation of that custom, according to his notion. Why, said he, when the *Danes* invaded *England*, and got the better of the *Natives*, they used often to eat and drink together; but still allowing the *Danes* to be their Masters: And very often, upon some pique or crossed interest, they used even to stab them when they were

lifting the cup to their mouths. Upon the *English* being frequently murdered in this manner, they contrived at last, when they were at meals, or drinking with the *Danes*, to say to their next neighbour, *Here's to you*, upon which the other cried, *I'll Pledge you*: which was as much as to say, he would be a surety or pledge, while the other drank; and accordingly the other would guard him while he drank. When done, the other would drink; and then, he that drank before, was to stand his Pledge likewise. Nay, it came to be such a custom at last, that when one *Englishman* came into the company of several *Danes*, he would say, in taking up his Cup, to his next Neighbour, *Will you Pledge me?* with an emphasis: upon the other's answering *he would*, he might drink without fear.

“ After staying the Winter at *Cork*, I designed to embark with Captain *Clark*, on board the Ship *Gilliflower*, and accordingly we set out from *Cork*, April the 23d, 1689, for *Boston* in *New England*, and so for *Virginia*. We arrived at *Boston*, June the third, having a quick passage. After having finished our business there, we set sail for *Virginia*. We doubled *Cape Cod* without any danger: but one Night a Storm arose, that flung us on Shore upon the Main, within six Leagues of *Cape Charles*, where our Men were all saved, but in a poor condition. Our Ship lying upon the Sands, a furlong

from Shore, fourteen out of twenty of our Men, that could swim, went into the long Boat, and went on board the Ship, to get some necessaries. As soon as they had got what they wanted, they came towards the Shore again; but the Boat being deeply laden, could not come nigh enough to the Shore to unload, so that they resolved to go farther to seek for deeper Water; and bid us follow along the Shore, which we did: but they doubling a point of Land, we lost sight of them. However, we followed on still: when going over a little swamp, we perceived several *Indians* in a Wood on our right Hand. Whereupon we began to be in a desperate fright, but still we marched on. When coming to the skirt of the Wood, they let fly their arrows at us, which killed one of our Companions, and wounded two more; one in the Arm, and the other in the side of his Neck: as for my part, I still remained unhurt, but had an arrow sticking in the sleeve of my Waistcoat. After the *Indians* had fired, they ran to us with incredible swiftness; whereupon, having no weapons, we kneeled down to them, and implored their mercy. One among them spoke *English* pretty well, who said, *You English white Men, we will kill you to be revenged of your brothers at Lamestown, who kill us many Indians; we will take you to our Werowance, (i. e. King,) and he will order us to*

burn you; when we will drink your blood, and feed upon your flesh.

“ They hurried us along that Night at least twenty miles up in the Country, and next Morning brought us to their Village; where was their *Werowance*, sick in his Cabin: but hearing of our coming, he rose up, and with several of his Officers, who are called *Cockorooses*, came towards us. After he had examined the *Indians*, as we suppose, how we were taken, he ordered a great fire to be made, and had us all tied to one stake fixed in the Earth: but we were no sooner tied, and the signal given for firing the Wood about us, but we were untied and brought back to the Tent: to stay, as we were informed, till the next Day, when more *Indians* would come to be Spectators of our Tragedy. They had stripped us naked; and, in my breeches pocket, had found my box of Instruments, which they examined very narrowly, and asked, which of us it belonged to? When they were informed it was mine, I was immediately sent for before the *Werowance*, who asked me by his Interpreter, the name and use of every Instrument; which I informed him: when he came to my Lancets, and being informed they were to bleed, he asked in a great passion, if *I was the murderer of the Indians that were taken by the English?* But when I let him know it was to let blood in many distempers,

for ease for the body ; and that we were Strangers to those *English* that killed their Indians, he abated of his anger, and asked me if I could show how I let blood ; which I told him I could, if any one wanted it, and was not well. Whereupon the *Werowance* said he was not very well ; but he would have me try upon one of my Companions, before he would let me bleed him. I told his Interpreter that he should tell him I would feel his Pulse, that I might know whether it was proper to let him blood or no. *Feel his Pulse ! What's that ?* said the Interpreter. Whereupon I took him by the Hand, and shewed him what I meant. When the Interpreter had satisfied him with what I said, he beckoned me to him, and held out his Hand ; which I felt, and found he was in an high fever. I told the Interpreter that he must be let blood, for that his indisposition was a Fever, and explained his distemper ; which he finding to agree with his condition, seemed to be mightily pleased ; but he would have me bleed some other of my Companions before him. I pitched upon one, that it would not injure, and bled him upon the ground till he had bled enough, and then tied up his Arm. The *Werowance*, and the rest of the Indians, were amazed to see him bleed such a quantity, and asked me *if he must bleed as much ?* I told them, yes, or rather more ; but that I would have something to save the blood, because I could make a better

judgment of the cause of his distemper. Whereupon they brought me a *Callibash*, which I supposed might hold a quart: upon this, I tied up his Arm, and let him bleed, till I had taken about sixteen ounces from him; so tied up his Arm again. When I had done, he wanted to go into his Hammock to sleep; but I told him he must not go to rest till Night, which he complied with. The next Day he was much better, and sent for me again, from the place where they had kept us waking all Night, by singing and dancing round us; and if any of us offered to sleep, they would jog us and hinder us. When I came to him I unbound his Arm, and he looked at the Orifice; then finding it closed, was more amazed than before. Then he made his Interpreter ask me concerning his blood, which was corrupted; and when I told him, that if I had not bled him, he would soon have died; he got up, and made me sit down upon a mat which lay in his Cabin; and told me by his Interpreter, if I would stay with him, he would save both me and my Companions: if we would fight against the Whites, and marry Indian Women, that should be allotted us. I told him I would ask my Companions, who rejoiced at the proposals; and though all married before, yet they made no scruple of having another Wife. As for myself, (though not married,) I did not much care for such a tawny rib; therefore told the *Herowance*, none of our

profession ever married ; he being well satisfied with this answer, spared all our Lives.

The Marriages were made the next Day, without much Ceremony ; they were only joined by their Priests, without any question on either side, and so carried home to their several Tents. All the while I was here, they were making Preparations to go against the *English*. One Day I was sent for, and ordered to feel the Pulse of the King. After I had done, he asked me if I could tell any thing of the Affairs of the *English*, by feeling the Pulse : but I told him, that was impossible, without I was with them in Person. Whereupon, the King asked me if I would go to the *English*, and come to him again, and give him a true account of them ; but, said he, *you must leave your Sagamore* (meaning the Box of Instruments) *behind you*. I told him I would make it my business to inform myself in every particular, but that I did not know the way ; he told me I should have a Canoe, and four Indians, that should carry me within a League of the *English*. I must confess I went with joy, and sorrow : with Joy to leave such a cursed Place, where Death threatened me every Day ; with Sorrow, to go without my Companions. We went into our Canoe, which lay about six Miles from the Place where the King lived, but took no Provisions with us ; because my Indians were to provide for me by catching of Fish, in which they are very dexterous.

We went down the River which the Indians called *Kuskarra* River, till we came to *Chesapeak Bay*; then we rowed in our Canoe past *Russel's Islands*, and made toward *Cape*, or *Point Comfort*: but coming about a League, or thereabouts near the Island, a Boat came down the River, and upon what account I cannot tell, but they fired a Musket, which being heard by the *Indians*, they immediately jumped overboard, and swam back again to Shore.

“ I was not much concerned, I must own, for there was no danger of their being drowned, for most *Indians* swim like Fishes. I took the Paddles, and made the best of my way to *Point Comfort*, which I passed, and entered *Powhattan River*; being directed by my *Indians* so to do; and directed my way to *Lamestown*, where I arrived very late; and was mightily rejoiced to find my Companions all well in health, and ready to embark the next Day for *Boston*, in a Vessel bound for that Place. After refreshing myself, and selling my Canoe, I with the rest of the Company set sail the next Day; and after various Adventures am arrived where you see me.

“ Now think with yourself, Mr. *Falconer*, whether we need doubt the Providence of God in helping us from this Island? There is nothing here like the hardships I have undergone, and yet have been happily freed from; and, therefore, you need not despair.”

(VI.) After we had spent the Night in reflection on what had passed, the next Morning, we, after imploring the assistance of the Almighty, went to work to clear the Sand from our Vessel ; which we continued working on for sixteen days together, resting only on Sunday, which at last we effected : we had thrown up the Sand on each side, down from the Vessel quite to the surface of the Water, when it was lowest. Now the next thing we had to do, was to get Poles, to put under our Vessel to launch her out; which we got from the *Burton Wood*, but with much difficulty: being we were forced to cut a great many, before we could get them that were fit for our purpose. After we had done this, we returned God thanks for our success hitherto ; and on the day following, resolved to thrust off our Vessel into the Water : but were prevented, by Mr. *Randal's* being taken ill of a Fever ; occasioned, as we supposed, by his great fatigue in working to free our Ship from the Sand. Wherein he spared no pains, to encourage us as much by his Actions as his Words, even beyond his strength. The concern we were all in upon this, occasioned our delay in not getting our Vessel out : beside, one hand out of five was a weakening to our strength. Mr. *Randal* never thought of his Instruments till now, when he wanted to let himself bleed ; but not feeling them about his clothes, we

supposed they might have been overlooked in the Vessel. So I ran immediately, to see if I could find them ; and getting up the side, my very weight pulled her down to the Sand : which had certainly bruised me to death, if I had not sunk into the hollow, that we had made by throwing the Sand from the Ship.

I crept out in a great fright, and ran to my Companions, who with much ado got her upright ; and afterwards we fixed some spare Oars on each side, to keep her up from falling again ; for the pieces of Wood, that were placed under her, were greased to facilitate her slipping into the Water ; and we had dug the Sand so entirely from her, that she rested only on them ; which occasioned her leaning to one side with my weight only. This had not happened, I believe, if I had endeavoured to have got on board on the other side, which was highest ; but choosing the lowest, for my more easy entrance, was the cause of the Accident that happened to me. When we were entered into the Vessel, and found our endeavours to find the Box of Instruments fruitless, we were all mightily concerned, for we verily believed that bleeding would have cured him : nay, even he himself said, that if he could be let blood, he was certain his Fever would abate, and he should be easier. Yet to see, with what a perfect Resignation, he submitted to the will of Heaven, it would have inspired one with a true knowledge

of the State good Men enjoy after a dissolution from this painful Life. He grew still worse, and worse ; but yet so patient in his Sufferings, that it perfectly amazed us all. He continued in this manner a whole week, without tasting any thing but Water-gruel ill made, for what little Oatmeal we had, was sour.

When we saw by the course of Nature, it was impossible he should last long, we all were very much grieved. As for my own part, I could not forbear shedding tears ; for I had taken such an Affection to him, that it almost equalled a Child's Love for a Parent. He seeing me weep, called me with a faint voice towards him ; and when I was near him, he made me sit down by him. After several kind expressions, which made my tears flow more plentifully, he said to me, *Mr. Falconer, if you grieve for me, dry your Tears ; I desire nothing but your Prayers. I am going to pay a debt incumbent on me by Nature, and a debt that must be paid ; which was contracted at my Birth, and Death will not admit of any evasion : besides, you will have one less to eat of the Provision that is left.* After this, being tired with speaking so much together, he turned to rest himself ; but his Fever was so violent, he could take no ease in Body, though tranquil in Mind. So finding we could not expect his Life, we prayed for a speedy and painless release from it. After this we gave him some Wa-

ter, which he often begged for, in vain to cool his mouth. When he had drank it, he said he found himself a little easier, and the pain and burning something abated ; which we took as a lightning before death ; or as the Spirits collected together to make their last fruitless efforts.

When he found himself just upon the point of expiring, he made this short Prayer, which was so imprinted in my Memory, that I shall never forget it : *O Almighty Creator of Heaven and Earth, whose all-seeing Eye looks into the inmost corner of the Heart, pardon my Offences ; which I heartily repent of, and rely upon the infinite grace of thy wonted Mercy, to absolve me of all my past Crimes, through the Merits of my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.* Then lifting up his Hands, and Eyes to Heaven, he expired, with the happiness of continuing to the last in his right senses ; in such a Fever, which is almost always attended with a frenzy.

After our sorrow for his death was something abated, we consulted how to bury him. Mr. Middleton, and Mr. Musgrave, were for sewing him in his Hammock, and throwing him into the Sea ; but Mr. White and myself were for burying him on the Land, which they agreed to : so we dug the Hole which I designed for my Well, seven foot long, and seven deep, and returned him to the Earth whence he came. Upon the Bark of the Tree that shaded his Grave, I wrote this Epitaph :

Under this Tree lies the Body of Thomas Randal, Gent. born in the City of Cork, Anno Domini 1641; who was thrown ashore with Richard White, William Musgrave, and Ralph Middleton, all of Jamaica; to the consolation of Richard Falconer, of Bruton in Somersetshire, who was unfortunately cast on Shore, before them, on the 18th of September, 1699; yet received from their Conversation a mitigation of his own Misfortune. Whose chance it is ever to read these Lines, pay a Tear to the Memory of Thomas Randal, and endeavour to make as good an end as he did; who died a natural Death, on Friday, December the 21st, 1699, in his perfect Mind, and a true notion of the Power of God to pardon all his Faults: whose Failings were corrected by a sincere Penitence, dying every Day he lived.

This took me up an whole Tree. Mr. Randal made no Will: yet I claimed his Dog, being the Whelp of the Bitch he found upon the Rock, which he was thrown upon in the *Baltick*: the Bitch being dead some time before. We were forced to tie him up, after we had buried Mr. Randal; for with his Feet he would scrape Holes in the Grave two Feet deep, and howl prodigiously.

After this we prepared once more to launch our Vessel: but first, we put on board what Provision we had left, and all the Things that we took from

thence. Mr. *Randal's* death gave me, with the others' permission, a title to a Bed, which I wanted before. So that I took up the Cabin which was allotted me, and slept on Board every Night.

And now we bent our thoughts entirely on our Vessel. On Monday the 31st of *December*, we launched her out into the Sea, and designed to set sail the next Day. After we had fixed her fast with two Anchors and a Hawser on Shore, we went on board to dine, and make ourselves merry, which we did very heartily; and to add to our mirth, we made a large Cann of Punch, which we never attempted to do before, being we had but one bottle of Lime Juice in all, and was what indeed we designed for this occasion. In short the Punch ran down so merrily, that we were all in a drunken condition. When it was all gone, we resolved to go to rest: but all I could do, could not persuade them to lie on board that Night in their Cabins, yet without a Bed: they would venture, though they were obliged to swim an hundred Yards before they could wade to Shore; but however they got safe, which I knew by their hallooing and rejoicing.

Having brought my Bed on board, I went to rest very contentedly, which I did till next Morning: But oh! Horror! when I had dressed myself, and going on Deck to call my Companions to come on board to dine, which was intended over Night; and afterwards to go on Shore, and bring our Sails and

Yards on board, and make to Sea as fast as we could; I could not see any Land! which so overcame me on the sudden, that I sunk down on the Deck, without sense or motion. How long I continued so I cannot tell, but I awoke full of the sense of my lamentable condition, and ten thousand times, spite of my resolution to forbear, cursed my unhappy Stars, that had brought me to that deplorable state. Instead of coming on board to be frolicsome, and merry, we should have given thanks to Him, who gave us the blessing of thinking we were no longer subject to such Hardships, that we might probably have undergone, if we had been detained longer on that Island. If poor Mr. *Randal* had remained among us, this misfortune had not happened. He, by his wise and prudent care and conduct, would have prevented this unlucky Accident. I had no Compass, neither was I of myself capable of ruling the Vessel in a Calm, much less if there should a Storm happen, which are too frequent in this Climate.

After I had vented my Grief in a torrent of Words, and Tears, I began to think how the Vessel could have got to Sea without my knowledge. By remembrance of the matter, the Night before, I found by our eagerness and fatal carelessness, we had forgot to fasten our Cables to the Geers; and, pulling up the Hawser, which we had fastened to one of the *Burton* Trees on Shore, I perceived that the

force of the Vessel had pulled the Tree out of the Earth. Then I too late found, that an Hurricane had arose, when I was sound asleep, and stupified by too much Liquor. When I began to be something better contented in my Mind, and thought of sustaining Nature, almost spent with fatigue and grieving; one great comfort I had of my side, which my poor wretched Companions wanted, was Provision in plenty, and fresh Water: so that when I began to consider coolly, I found I had not that cause to complain which they had, who were left on a barren Island, without any other Provision than that very same Diet, which I was forced to take up with, when first thrown on Shore.

What made me most uneasy, was to think what my Companions could judge of me; whether they should take it for design or chance: but then I stilled that thought, by knowing they must needs see, that the Tree was forced away with violence, beyond the strength of Man. Beside, I had another small comfort, which was the company of my Dog, who lay on board with me: I used to talk to him as if he were a rational Creature; and the poor Beast would stand, and stare me in the Face, as if he were sensible of what I said to him. It was a very handsome Creature, of the *Danish* kind, but very good natured; and would often go to the Cabin where I lay, which was that of his old Master, and whine mightily.

I remained tossed upon the Sea for a fortnight, without discovering Land; for the Weather continued very calm, but yet so hazy, that I could not perceive the Sun for several Days. One Day searching for some Linen that I had dropped under the sacking of my Bed, for I did not lie in a Hammock, I found an old Glove with seventy-five Picces of Eight in it; which I took and sewed in the Waistband of my Breeches, for fear I should want it some time or other. I made no scruple of taking it, for I was well assured it did belong to poor Mr. Randall. Besides, I had heard the other People say, that they were sure he had Money some where; and after this Death we searched for it, but could not find any.

January the 20th, 1700, I discovered a Sail to Leeward of me, but she bore away so fast, that there was not any hope of Succour from her, and I had not any thing to distinguish me. I supposed, though I could see them, yet they could not see me, by reason of my want of Sail, which would have made me the more conspicuous. The next Day I discovered Land, about six Leagues to the S. W. of me, which I observed my Vessel did not come nigh, but coasted along Shore. I was well assured it was the Province of *Jucatan* belonging to the *Spaniards*, and was the Place we came from. Now all my fear was, that I should fall into their Hands, who would make me do the work of a Slave; but

even that I thought was better, than to live in continual fear of Storms and Tempests, or Shipwreck.

I coasted along in this manner for two or three Days, and at last discovered Land right a head, which I was very glad of; but yet mixed with Fear, in not knowing what treatment I should have. I began now to think of some evasion, and not to tell them the truth of belonging to the logwood Vessel, but resolved to say, that we were taken by a *French Privateer*, and after being rummaged, were turned off as useless.

On *January* the 30th, I made the Bay and Town of *Francisco di Campeche*, as it proved afterwards; and was almost upon it, before I was met by any thing of a Ship, or a Boat: but at last two Canoes came on board, with one *Spaniard* and six Indians, who were much surprized when they understood my condition, by speaking broken *French*, which the *Spaniard* understood. They immediately carried me on Shore, and from thence to the Governor, who was at dinner: they would have had me stay till he had dined; but he, hearing of me, commanded me to come in, where he was at dinner with several Gentlemen and two Ladies; and, though it is very rare any one sees the Women, yet they did not offer to veil themselves. I was ordered to sit down by myself at a little table placed for that purpose, where I had sent me of what composed their dinner: which was some

Fish and Fowls, and excellent Wine of several sorts.

The chief Town of the Province of *Jucatan*, lies twelve leagues from the Sea on either side: it is Bishop's See, and the residence of the Governor of this Province. *Valladolid* is the second City; and *Campeche* the third; yet, though but the third reckoned, it far exceeds the rest in riches and magnificence. This Town has the chiefest trade; for from this place, the other Cities and Towns are furnished with all necessaries, that come from the *Havana*, and other places in *America*; and likewise from *Old Spain*. Yet for all their power, riches and strength, Captain *Parker*, an *Englishman*, with one Ship, and a small Bark, and whose whole Crew contained but an hundred and forty Men, landed in the middle of the Day; and in spite of all their Forces, which were two hundred Horse, and five hundred Foot, took the place, with the Governor and several other Persons of quality, together with a rich Ship laden with Ingots, and several other valuable articles, before they knew of the City's being taken.

They have another Tradition, that this Province of *Jucatan* was first inhabited, and cultivated, by a white-bearded People, that came from the East, after being tossed many Moons upon the Sea, and suffering many hardships for want of Food and fresh Water, and other Necessaries; yet relieved

from Want, and their Enemies, through the power of the Deity they worshipped; a God that kept all the other petty Deities in awe.

This Story, if true, seems to confirm an *old Tradition of our *Welch* Chronicles, that tell us of one *Madoc ap Owen*, Son to *Gumeth*, a Prince of that Country, who was drove, by some disgust, from his own Country, with several Companions; who, after various Adventures at Sea, were driven on an unknown Land to the West, many hundred Leagues, where they had communication in a friendly

* The curious Reader will find some account of this Tradition in *Hakluyt's* third Volume, (page 1.) "The most ancient Discovery of the West Indies by *Madoc*, the Son of *Owen Gwyneth*, Prince of North Wales, in the Yeere 1170: taken out of the History of *Wales* lately published by M. David Powel, Doctor of Divinity."

Madoc I am, the Son of *Owen Gwynedd*,
With Stature large, and comely Grace adorned:
No Lands at Home, nor store of Wealth me please,
My Minde was whole to search the Ocean Seas.

A particular attention is paid to this Discovery by *Madoc* in *Herbert's* "Some Years Travels into *Africa*, *Asia* the Great, especially describing the famous Empires of *Persia* and *Indestan*, 1638." This Traveller quotes a Passage (page 360,) from one of *Montezuma's* Speeches, to prove *Madoc's* Discovery: "One Cause of my especial affection to your Nation, is this, I have many times heard my Father say, hee heard his Grandsire seriously asirme, out of a continued Tradition, That not many Descents above him, his progenitors came thither as Strangers by accident, in company of a Noble man; who abode there a while and then departed: but left many of his People behind him; and that upon his returne, most of those he left died: and that from him, or some of them, they thought they themselves descended.—Made more orthodoxall by Welsh Names given there to Birds, Rivers, Rocks, Beasts, &c."

manner with the *Indians*, and made a Settlement. Whereupon *Madoc ap Owen* returned for *Britain* again, and got to the number of two thousand Men and Women, besides Children; which mixed with the Natives, and left among them several of their Opinions and Manners, which they retained till the last, when *Cortez* subdued them: but now, by the Cruelty of the *Spaniards*, the Natives are almost extinct.

After they had feasted me for two or three Days, they sent me about with several Officers appointed by the Governor, to make a gathering, which we did with success; for in three Days we had got seven hundred and odd Pieces of Eight. And two Merchants there, were at the charge of fitting up my Bark, in order to send it for my poor Companions. When it was finished, they gave me several necessaries for myself and Companions, to hearten us up; as some Bottles of fine Wines, two Bottles of Citron Water, for a Cordial; Chocolate, and several other useful things: But the difficulty was to get Seamen to go with me. At last they remembered they had five *Englishmen* that were Prisoners there, and taken in the Bay of *Campeche*, upon suspicion of Piracy, but nothing could be proved against them; which they freed without any Ransom. I received as much humanity among them, as could be expected from any of the most civilized Nations: But they have a greater kindness for the *English*

than they have for their Neighbours the *French*; being the *English* are more open and generous, they say, and don't use stratagems to deceive them, as the *French* do frequently: though they not only pay them in their own Coin, for there is no Nation under the Sun more fruitful than the *Spaniards* in Plottings and Ambuscades, as they call them, to deceive their Enemies; which yet they think lawful.

(VII.) On *February* the 15th, 1700, we set sail from *Campeche Bay*, after paying my acknowledg-ment to the generous Governor: but having nothing to present him with worth acceptance, but my *Ovid*, I gave him that; which he took very kindly, and said he would prize it mightily: not only in the esteem he had for that Author, but in remembrance of me and my misfortunes.

We plyed it to Windward very briskly, and in fifteen Days discovered the Isles of the *Alcranes*; but we durst not go in within the Shoals, because we were all ignorant of the Channel. So we cast Anchor, and hoisted out our Boat, with two Men and myself, and made to Shore: where we found my three Companions, but in a miserable condition; and Mr. *Musgrave* so faint and weak, that they expected he could not live long.

When they awaked the next Day, after I had drove off in the dark, they were all in despair, to find the Vessel gone; which they perceived was occasioned by an Hurricane, that they were assured

was violent : because it had blown down their Tent, though without awaking them. But when they began to consider they had no Food, nor but very little fresh Water, which was left in a Barrel without a Head in the Tent, their despair increased. But as no Passion can last long that is violent, it wore off with their care for Sustenance, which they diligently searched for ; and not finding any quantity of Eggs, or *Boobies*, the dreadful fear of starving came into their Minds, with all its horrid attendance. Now they imagined that all which happened to them, was, as I had thought, a judgment for the vile sin of drunkenness ; when they should have rather implored Heaven's assistance, in furthering them in their delivery from the place where they were.

They had now been five Days without eating or drinking, for the *Boobies* were retired, either out of fear or custom, to some other place : neither could they find one Egg more, and weakness came so fast upon them, with Hunger and drought, that they were hardly able to crawl, so they thought of nothing but dying : When at last they remembered the body of good Mr. *Randal*, that had been buried a Week, which they dug up, without being putrified : and that poor wretch, that helped to support our misfortunes when alive, with his sage advice, now was a means of preserving their Lives.

though dead. They had by good fortune left them a Tinder Box in the Tent, (we having two,) with which they struck a light, and made a Fire; then cut off several pieces of flesh of the brawn of his Arms and Thighs, and broiled them on the Coals, though with a great deal of reluctance; which was the means of keeping Life and Soul together, till we came to relieve them from that deplorable condition: Mr. *Musgrave*, we brought to a little Life and Strength, by giving him some Citron-Water in small quantities. When I saw the Carcase of my poor good Monitor lie for Food for human Creatures, my Horror at the Sight overcame my Reason, and I believe I said things shocking enough: however, when I had calmly considered their condition, I was very sorry for what I had said, and begged their pardon. After we had refreshed ourselves, we once more laid him in the Earth, having sewed up his poor Bones in one of the Hammocks.

I must confess, I never think of that good Man, but Tears come into my Eyes, and melancholy clouds all my Thoughts: for he was one whose Character came up to all we could desire in frail Man. Honest, without interest; friendly without design; religious, attended with reason, and not swaddled up so tight as to make it deformed: pleasant in conversation; courteous to all; hating nothing but Vice; gentle in reproving; bold in all

dangers, in being armed with an innocence that inspired him with Success. In short, he was a miracle of a Man.

He was an excellent Sailor, and knew most parts of the World perfectly well; understood *French* and *Spanish*, and seemed to have a pretty good knowledge in the *Latin* Tongue. His Journals were mostly taken in short Hand: but he had one small Manuscript, containing about twenty Leaves, *Spanish* on the one side, and *English* on the other, all in his own Hand; which I suppose he had translated for his diversion, and to pass away his Leisure Hours. It was a Treatise of Herbs and Flowers, with other rarities to be found in the *West-Indies*. On the flat of his Book he had writ in a large Hand these Words—*This Manuscript in Spanish I have transcribed from the Original of the Reverend Father Pedro di Ribeira, of the order of Jesus, when I was Pilot in Mexico. The Translation I have made at my leisure Hours; and the Cures by the Simples, &c., mentioned in the said Book, I have been an Eye-witness to many of, and some were practised on myself.*

We now were got on board once again, in order to sail as soon as the Wind would rise, it being stark Calm, and continued so two Days. At last it blew a little, and we weighed Anchor, and stood out to Sea; but made but little way. I now was Master, or Captain of a Ship, and began to take

upon me. We were nine Men, all *English*; that is, Myself first, *Richard White*, *W. Musgrave*, and *Ralph Middleton*, my old Companions; *John Stone*, *W. Keater*, *Francis Hood*, *W. Warren*, and *Joseph Meadows*, (all of *England*;) the five Men given me by *Don Antonio*; who, as I said before, were taken on suspicion of Piracy. Whereupon a thought came into my Head, that had escaped me before: I considered if these were really Pirates, being five to four, they might be too powerful for us, and perhaps murder us. One Day we all dined together upon Deck under our Awning, it being very calm Weather. I then asked the five Men, what was the reason they were taken by the *Spaniards* for Pirates? Upon this they seemed nonplused, but *Warren* soon recovered himself, as well as the rest, and spake for the others, in this manner:—"We embarked on board the Ship *Bona-venture*, in the *Thames*, bound for *Jamaica*, where we made a prosperous Voyage; but after taking in our lading, in our way home, we were overtaken by a Storm, in which our Ship was lost, and all the Men perished, except myself and four Companions, who were saved in the Long Boat. But the reason we were taken for Pirates was; that making to Shore to save ourselves, we saw a Bark riding at Anchor, without the Port of *Campeche*, which we made to, in order to inquire whereabouts we were, and to beg some Provisions, our own be-

ing gone. On entering the Vessel, we found but two People in it; the third, jumping into the Water, swam on Shore, and brought three Boats filled with *Spanish* Soldiers, which came on board, before we could make off."—"Make off!" said I, "*what, did you design to run away with the Vessel?*"—"No," answered *Warren* with some confusion, "but we did design to weigh Anchor, and go further in Shore, that we might land in the Morning, it being late at Night."

I must confess I did not like the Fellow being nonplused now and then, in not knowing what to say: but upon consideration, thought it might be for want of words to express himself better; so for that Time I took no more notice, not weighing it in my Mind: but in the Evening Mr. *Middleton* came to me, with a Face of concern, and told me he did not like these Fellows' Tale. "Why so?" said I. "Because I observe they herd together," answered he, "and are always whispering and speaking low to one another. If a foreboding heart may speak, I am sure we shall suffer something from these Fellows, that will be of danger to us."

(VIII.) Upon this, I began to stagger in my opinion of their honesty, and therefore we resolved to stand upon our Guard. We took no notice of our Conference then, to our two other Companions, but resolved to stay till Night; we having a better opportunity, being we lay together in the Cabin aft.

When we were to go to Supper, we called one another to come: but five of the Sailors excused themselves, by saying, they had dined so lately, that they had no Stomach as yet; whereupon we had an opportunity sooner to converse together than we designed. For being at Supper, we opened the matter to our other two Companions, and they agreed immediately that we were in some danger; so we resolved in the middle Watch of the Night, to seize them in their sleep. We were to have the first Watch, which we set at eight of the Clock; then they were to watch till twelve; and then, in their third Watch, between one and two, we had concluded to seize upon them as they slept, that is four of them, for one of them watched with us, which was *Franc: Hood*, the Cook: whom we agreed to seize and bind fast, towards the latter end of the Watch, and to threaten him with death if he offered to make the least noise.

As soon as ever our first Watch was set, we sent Mr. *Musgrave* to prepare our Arms. In about half an hour, or thereabouts, *Warren* called to *Hood* upon Deck, (they lying below,) to get him a little Water for *he was bloody dry*, he said: whereupon the other went down immediately with some Water in a Cann to him. As soon as he was gone down, I had the curiosity to draw as near the Scuttle as I could, to hear the discourse. Now you must know, *Hood* our Cook had been employed that

Day, about searching our Provisions, our Beef Casks, and Pork, to see what quantity we had, that we might know how long it would last; so that the others had not an opportunity to disclose the design to him. As soon as he was got down, I could hear *Will: Warren* say to him, “D—n ye, *Franc*, we had like to have been smoked to Day; and though we had contrived the Story that I told them, yet I was a little surprized at their asking me, because then I did not expect it; but we design to be even with them in a very little time: for, hark ye,” said he, and spoke so low, that I could not hear him: upon which, the other said, “There is no difficulty in the matter; but we need not be in such haste, for you know, as we ply it to Windward, a Day or two can break no squares, and we can soon (after the effecting our design) bear down to Leeward to our Comrades that we left on Shore: for I fancy,” added he, “that they have some small suspicion of you now, which in Time will sleep, and may be on their guard: therefore it is better to wait a Day or two.”—“No, we’ll do it to Night, when they are asleep,” replied *Warren*: whereupon there were many arguments, *pro* and *con*, as I fancied.

A little while after, *Hood* came up again; and after walking up and down, and fixing his eyes often upon me; who in the mean Time was provided with a couple of Pistols under my Watch Coat, and

which indeed were their own, that we had hung up ready charged in our Cabin; (which was one reason of their design to attack us in our sleep) *Hood*, as I said before, seemed to fix his Eyes frequently upon me, for till now I never watched in the Night. At last, said he very softly, "If you please, Mr. *Falconer*, I have a Word or two to say to you, that much concerns you all."—"What is it?" said I. "Why," answered he, "I would have the rest of your Companions Ear-witnesses too;" with that I called them together: "but," said he, "let's retire as far from the Scuttle as we can, that we may not be heard by any below Deck; so we went into the Cabin, and opened the Scuttle above, that Mr. *Musgrave*, who steered, might hear what was said. When we had sat down upon the Floor, Mr. *Hood* began as follows:—"My four Companions below have a wicked design upon you; that is to seize you, and put you into the Boat; and run away with your Vessel: but I thinking it an inhuman Action, not only to any one, but to you in particular, that have been the means of their freedom, therefore, I hope, appointed by Providence; I come to let you know it, that we may think of some means to prevent it." Upon this, (finding his Sincerity,) I told him that we were provided against it already; and with the consent of my Companions, told him our design of seizing them in the third Watch. "But," said he, "they

intend to put their Project in practice their next Watch, therefore I think 'twill be more proper for us to counterplot 'em, and seize them this."—"As they have no Arms," said I, "and we have, we need not fear them."

We had several Debates about this, which took up too much time, to our sorrow: for *Warren* mistrusting *Hood*, it seems, got up and listened; and when he found, that we retired all of us to the Cabin, he got upon Deck; and stealing softly, came so close, that he overheard every thing we said: which, as soon as he understood, he went immediately to his Companions, who waited impatiently, (as they told us afterwards,) and let them know all our discourse: whereupon, without pausing, they resolved to attack us immediately, in the midst of our consultation; which was no sooner resolved upon, but done. For we were immediately surprized with their seizing us, which they did with that quickness, and so unperceivable, that we were all confounded and amazed: they had got off two Pistols in our consternation, which they clapped to our Breasts. In this confusion, I had forgotten mine that were at my Girdle, (or else we might have been hard enough for them;) neither did I remember them, till they found them about me.

They shut the Cabin door on the inside, till they had bound us, and never minded Mr. *Musgrave* knocking and making a noise, till they had secured us: which done, they opened the Door, and seized

him; who came to know what the matter was, for we had no Candle in the Cabin: and he, hearing a noise amongst us, thought we were seizing *Hood*; and called to us to forbear, (as he said afterwards,) and make haste, for he was going to tack about, though we did not hear him. On which he clapped the Helm a Lee, and came down to fetch us out, to haul off the Sheets, &c. and was seized, and bound with us: they left us immediately, being the Sails fluttered in the Wind, by reason she was veering round, when the Helm was a Lee.

After they had fixed the Vessel, and it was broad Day, they came and unbound our Legs, and gave us leave to walk upon Deck. Whereupon I began to expostulate with them, particularly Mr. *Warren*, being he seemed to have a sort of command over the others. “And what,” said I to him, “do you design to do with us, now you have your desire? “*Do with you! Why, by and by we design to put you in the Boat, and turn you adrift; but for that Hood, we’ll murder him without mercy. A Dog, to betray us! But as you have not so much injured us, we’ll put you immediately in the Boat with a Week’s Provision, and a small Sail, and you shall seek your fortune, as I suppose you would have done by us.*”—“No,” answered I, “we only designed to confine you till we came to *Jamaica*, and there to have given you your liberty to go where you had thought fit: Put us ashore at any Land that belongs to the *English*, and we will

think you have not done us an injury."—No," said he, "*We must go to meet our Captain and fifty Men, upon the main Land of Jucatan, where our Vessel was stranded, not to be gotten off. Our first design, when we were taken in our Boat, was to get us a Vessel to go a buccaneering ; which we had done at Campeche, if it had not been for the Indian, that swam on Shore unknown to us, and brought succours too soon.*"

When they had got every thing ready ; that is to say, a Barrel of Bisket, another of Water, about half a dozen pieces of Beef, and as much Pork ; a small kettle, and a Tinder-Box ; we were better provided than we expected, by much. Besides, they granted us four Cutlasses, and a Fowling-Piece, with about four Pounds of Powder, and a sufficient quantity of Shot ; together with all poor Mr. *Randal's* Journals, after their perusing them, and finding them of no use. When this was done, *Warren* ordered them to tie *Hood* to the Mast of the Vessel ; and was charging a Pistol to shoot him through the Head, not considering it was charged before ; for it was one of them I had at my Girdle, and which they took from me ; but in his eagerness and heat of passion he did not mind it. We all intreated for the poor Fellow, and he himself fell upon his knees, and begged with all the eloquence he had, to spare him, and let him go with us : but *Warren* swore bitterly, nothing should save him. With that, he

cocked his Pistol, and levelled it at *Hood*; but firing, it split into several pieces, and one struck *Warren* into the Skull so deep, that he was breathing his last upon Deck. One of the bullets grazed upon the side of my Temple, and did but just break the Skin; as for *Hood*, he was not hurt, but with the fright, and noise of the Pistol, (as we supposed,) laboured with such an agony of spirit, that he broke the Cords that tied him by the Arms, though as thick as a middle finger, and fell down: but rose immediately, and not finding himself hurt, ran to us, and unbound our Arms, unperceived by the other two, who were busy about unfortunate *Warren*: and though they were called to, by them that steered, (who ran immediately to prevent it) yet they did not mind it, they were so concerned about *Warren*. Before he that steered came, *Hood* had unbound me, and stopped the fellow (*Meadows*) by giving him a blow with his fist, that knocked him down. In the mean time I had unbound *White*, *Musgrave*, and *Middleton*; and we went and seized upon the other two Pirates, for now we called them nothing else.

After we had bound them in our turn, we went to see what assistance could be given to *Warren*; when we found that a piece of the barrel of the Pistol had sunk into his Skull, and that he was just expiring: but yet he sat up with great resolution. Said he, “*You have overpowered us, and I*

likewise see the hand of Heaven is in it. I was bred a Roman, had good honest Parents, Romans, whose steps, if I had followed, would have made my Conscience easy to me at this time: but I forsook all Religion in general, and now, too late, I find that to dally with Heaven is fooling one's self. But yet, in this one moment of my Life that is left, I heartily repent of all my past Crimes; and rely upon the Saviour of the World, that died for our Sins, to pardon mine. With that, he crossed himself, and expired. I must confess, I was very sorry for the unhappy accident of his death; but yet glad that we were at liberty; and felt something easy, that the poor Soul repented before his expiring.

After we had secured our Tartars, we threw *Warren* overboard, and bore to the Wind; for after our first tacking about in the Morning, when the Bustle happened, they bore away with tack at Cat-head, as being for their purpose. The three Men that were left, desired us to let them have the Boat, and go seek their Companions; which we refused, as not having hands enough to carry our Vessel to *Jamaica*. But we promised them, if they would freely work in the Voyage, they should have their entire Liberty to go where they thought fit, without any complaints against them. Upon this, we began to be a little sociable as before; and they all declared, that what they did was by the instigation of *Warren*.

The next Day we discovered a Ship to windward of us, that bore down upon us with crowded Sails. We filled all the Sails we had, and endeavoured to get away from her as fast as we could, but all to no purpose. We saw they gained upon us every moment; and, therefore, seeing it was not possible for us to escape, we backed our Sails, and laid by for them, that they might be more civil if they were Enemies. As soon as ever they came up with us, they hailed us, and ordered us to come on board, which we durst not deny; when Mr. *Musgrave* and I, with *Hood* and *White* for Rowers, went on board them. We found by *Hood's* knowing them, that they were his Captain and Comrades. Now, as *Hood* said, we did not know how we should behave ourselves, or what we should say about *Warren*: but we only told the Captain, how we met with his Men, and that they were redeemed upon my account. He never asked particularly for *Warren*, but how they all did; and when they sent on board to search our Vessel, they soon came to the truth; for the other three told them the Story, though not with aggravating circumstances. Upon which poor *Hood* was tied to the Main-mast, lashed with a Cat of Nine-tails most abominably, and after that pickled in brine, which was more pain than the whipping; but it kept his back from festering, which it might otherwise have done; because they flea the Skin off at every stroke,

and then wash it with Brine ; which is called *whipping* and *pickling*. After this they would not keep him among them ; but sent for the other three Men from our Vessel, and ordered us all on board, with another of their Men who was ill of a dangerous Fever, which they feared might prove infectious. They did not take any thing from us, as we expected at first ; only gave us this sick Man to look after, which we were very contented with. So we parted with them very well satisfied, but much better when we were out of sight ; fearing they had forgot themselves, and would send for us back, and take our Provision from us, or one mischievous or another : for Pirates do not often use to be so courteous.

Our sick Man mended apace, for we took great care of him ; and by keeping him low, only with Water-gruel, his Fever left him. *John Rouse* was the name of this Sailor ; born at *Bermudas*. He offered us some proposals, if we would go along with him thither ; but I declined it, as wanting to be with my old Ship's Crew, and thought of seeing my own Country again ; as I believe all Travellers have, who bring nothing home but Misfortunes, or the Vices of the Places they have travelled through.

(IX.) Two Nights after we had parted with the Pirate, we were encountered with a dreadful Storm, that lasted two Days without abating ; and our poor Bark, which was none of the best, was tumbled

and tossed like a tennis Ball: yet we received no damage, but that she would not answer the Helm. So that we were obliged to let her go before the Tempest, and trust to the mercy of Heaven for relief.

We, in the middle of the Storm, discovered Land right a Head, which put us all into our pannels. We endeavoured to bring our Vessel to bear up to the Wind, but all to no purpose; for she still drove nearer the Shore; where we discovered several Tokens of a Shipwreck, as pieces of broken Masts, and barrels swimming on the water, and a little farther, Men's Hats. Then we began to think we should certainly run the same fate. When, as soon as thought, our Bark was drove on Shore, in a smooth sandy Bay, but where we had opportunity to quit her, which was happy for us; for the Sea washed over her with such violence, we had not any hopes of her escaping the Storm, and thought of course we should be torn to pieces.

When we were ashore, we all concluded it could be no other land, but the south of *Cuba Island*, belonging to the *Spaniards*. We were then in a terrible fright, lest we were near any part that belonged to the *Indians*: for Mr. *Musgrave* assured me, there were some parts of the South-side of *Cuba*, that *Indians* dwelt in, in spite of the *Spaniards*; and massacred them wherever they

met them, or any other Whites. We remained all Night in terrible fear; and though we found the Storm abated, or rather a Calm succeeded, yet we durst not stir till the Moon rose, and then we walked towards our Vessel, which we found all on one side: but by good fortune, most of our Provisions were dry, which mightily rejoiced us. But all the Vessel's Rigging and Masts were shattered and torn to pieces, and some part of her Quarter wrung off; that she could not be of any use to us, if we could have got her upright. We took out all our provision, and our Arms, with two barrels of Gun-powder that were dry; the rest being damaged with Water, and Sand, that had got in. We had Arms enough, as having them that belonged to the three Sailors that were taken in the Pirate; which we supposed they had forgot. So we were six Men well armed, with each a Musket, a Case of Pistols, and a Bayonet; besides two Cutlasses, if need were.

By that Time we had taken every Thing out, Day approached, and then we designed altogether, well armed, to go, and view the Country. *John Rouse* was very well recovered of his Fever, but a little weak; yet his Heart was as good as the best of us. So we resolved if we were set upon by *Indians*, to defend ourselves to the last drop of Blood; choosing rather to die by their Hands in Fight, than to be tortured after the manner, as they inflict upon

all the *Whites* they get into their Hands. But still we had some hopes that we were too far towards the Northward for them.

When we had placed our Provision, and other Necessaries, safe behind a Tuft of Trees, that grew close by the Water side; we fixed our Arms, and ventured to walk up in the Country, which we did almost every way that Day, four or five Miles: but could not discover any living Creature, nor any sign of Inhabitants. Only in one place the Grass seemed to be lately trodden, but whether by Man or Beast we could not discover: so being pretty well tired, we went back again to our Station, where we ate heartily, and at Night we laid ourselves upon the Grass, and fell asleep; for we durst not lie upon the Sails we had got for that purpose, being they were not dry, though spread all Day long.

I was awakened the next Morning by a Company of Lizards creeping over me: which is an Animal frightful enough to look at, but very harmless, and great lovers of Mankind. They say, that these Creatures, (if any Person lies asleep, and any voracious Beast, or the Alligator which comes on Shore often, is approaching the place where you lie,) will crawl to you as fast as they can, and with their forked Tongues tickle you till you awake, that you may avoid by their timely notice the coming danger. I got up, being roused by these Animals, and looked about me, but saw nothing ex-

cept an odd kind of a Snake about two foot long, having a Head something like a Weasel, and Eyes fiery like a Cat: as soon as it spied me it run away, and my Dog after it; but he did not kill it. When I told Mr. *Musgrave* what I had seen, he said it was a small Serpent, but not very hurtful, called the *Guabiniquinaze Serpent*, from eating a little Creature of that Name, something resembling a small Mole: the *Indians*, and *Spaniards*, eat of them, and reckon them dainty Food.

We now resolved on another Walk, to discover what Inhabitants were our Neighbours, whether *Indians* or *Spaniards*: if *Indians*, we designed to patch up our Boat, which had several holes in it, and make off as fast as we could, and row northward, till we came to some place inhabited by *Spaniards*. But if we found the latter, to beg protection, and some means to get to *Jamaica*; whereupon we ventured out with these Resolutions. We met with several fine large Cedar Trees, and one particularly so large, that Mr. *Musgrave*, and I, could but just fathom it with our Hands joined.

We had not gone far, before my Dog began to bark; when turning my head on one side, I beheld a Black approaching towards us; and being startled at the sight, I cocked my Piece, and resolved to fire at him: but he called to me in *English*, and told me he did not come to do me any harm; but was a poor distressed *Englishman*, that wanted

Food, and was almost starved, having ate nothing but wild Fruit for four Days. Upon that I let him come near ; where he was soon known by Mr. Rouse, to be *William Plymouth*, the Black Trumpeter to the Captain, that commanded the *Pirate Ship*. Upon his knowing him, we sat down and gave him some Provision, which we had brought with us, because we designed to be out all Day.

After he had refreshed himself a little, we asked him how he came into this Island ? “ Why,” answered he, “ we were cruising about *Cuba*, in hopes of some *Spanish* Prize, when a Storm arose, and drove us upon a Rock ; where our Ship was beat to pieces, and not above eighteen Men saved beside the Captain.”—*And did that wicked Wretch escape the Shipwreck ?* said I. “ Yes,” answered *Plymouth*, “ but to undergo a more violent death : for, as soon as ever we landed, we wandered up in the Country, to see for some Food, without any Weapons but a few Cutlasses, having lost our Fire Arms ; but however we all got something, or other, to defend ourselves on Shore, as long Clubs, which we took from the Trees we found in our walks. Our Captain resolved, if he met with any *Indian*, or *Spanish* Huts, that he would murder all that he found in them ; for fear they should make their escape, and bring more upon us. Thus he encouraged his Men to follow him with their Clubs : Said he, “ we will walk till we find some beaten

path, and there lie hid till Night, when we may go on to some Houses, and come upon them undiscovered ; by which means we may get Provision and other Arms : for the *Indians* of *Cuba* use Fire-arms as well as the *Spaniards*, and are full as dexterous in using them as any *Europeans*. After travelling about ten miles to the N. W. we discovered a path, upon which a halt was commanded, and to retire into the Woods again till Night ; which we did, and dined upon what Fruits we could get upon the Trees.

About two hours before Night a Dog smelled us out, and running away from us, barked most furiously ; upon that we were afraid of being discovered, which Fear proved true : for in half an Hour, or thereabouts, after the Dog left us, we were saluted with several Arrows and Musket-Shot, that killed us three Men, and wounded me in the Foot, but it proved the Means of saving my Life : for as soon as our Men perceived what had happened, they ran as hard as they could to meet the Danger, as knowing they could do no good till they came to Handy-Blows. I, in endeavouring to follow them, found my Hurt, which prevented my keeping up with the rest ; but I could hear and see them at it. About two hundred *Indians* set upon our Men, and in half an Hour killed them every one. I saw the Captain lay about him desperately, but at last he fell, being run through the

throat with a wooden Stake. As soon as ever the Indians had conquered, or rather murdered them, they fell to stripping of them as fast as they could; and carried them off, together with their own Dead, which were many; for the *English* sold their Lives very dearly.

After they were gone, which I found by their screaming and noise at a Distance, I ventured to steal out from behind a row of Bushes, where I had placed myself to see what had happened. I went to the place of Battle, where I found two of our Men that they had left, with all their Arms, and some of their own; so I took up one of their best Muskets, and a Cutlass, and made further into the Wood, for fear of being caught; which I had certainly been, if I had staid a Quarter of an Hour longer: for I soon heard them come hooping, screaming, and hollowing back, to fetch the other two Bodies, and their Arms, as I conjectured.

I walked as far as my hurt Foot would let me that Night, and out of the Danger of the *Indians*, as I thought; and then laid me down to sleep as well as I could, being very hungry, and sadly tired; and slept pretty well till Morning, when I proceeded forward in my painful Journey, and directed my Course N. E. thinking that was the best Way to avoid the *Indians*, and probably to meet with some *Spaniards*; whom I knew inhabited towards the North. The *Havana*, the Capital City of the

whole Island being seated there. I wandered for four Days, eating nothing but Fruit in the Woods: but laying myself down about an Hour ago, to rest myself a little, I thought I heard the tongues of *Englishmen*, which to my great Joy proved true. I left my Musket behind the Bushes, for fear of alarming you; but now, after returning God and you Thanks, for this timely Nourishment, I'll go and fetch it; which he did: and we might easily know it to be an *Indian Piece*, for they had rudely carved it all over with several Figures of Birds and Beasts.

“Now,” said I to my Companions, “you see the Reward of Wickedness. The Pirate was not suffered to go on long in his Crimes: For though Justice has leaden Feet, yet they always find she has iron Hands.”

After poor *Plymouth* had refreshed himself, we set forward, and walked along till we came to a Road that seemed to be the main Road of the Island. Here we consulted what we should do; whether we should go on, or return for more Provision: we resolved to go a little Distance from the Road, for fear we should meet with more of the *Indians*, and run the same Fate with the other *Englishmen*. But *Plymouth* told us, we were a great way from that Place where his Countrymen were killed; (for *Plymouth*, though born in *Guinea*, would always call himself an *Englishman*, as being

brought over very young,) so we resolved one and all to venture.

(X.) We sent up Prayers to the Almighty for our Safety, and went on with an idea that we should come off with Success; but we had not gone far, when we heard the Reports of several Muskets, and shouting in a barbarous Manner, behind us. Looking that Way, we saw a *Mulatto* riding as fast as ever his Mule could carry him; when he came up to us, he stopped, and cried in *Spanish*, “*Make haste, run! for the Indians are coming upon you: they have killed several Spaniards already, and they are fighting with them!*” Mr. *Musgrave*, who understood *Spanish* very well, interpreted what he said to us; and asked him, how far they were off? He answered, *Just by!* and hearing another Shout, put Spurs to his Mule, and left us in an Instant. We found by the Shouting, and the Firing, that they would be immediately upon us: so we retired out of the Road to let them pass, and laid down upon our bellies that they might not discover us. Immediately came by about twenty *Spaniards* on Horseback, pursued by near an hundred *Indians*. Just as they came by us, one *Spaniard* dropped, and crept into a Bush on the other side of the Road; and presently the *Indians* followed, shouting in an horrid Manner, and overtook the *Spaniards* again; who being very swift on Foot, out-ran an ordinary Horse; and they had

hrown away their Fire-Arms, to make them the lighter to run, as we supposed. The *Spaniards* knew they would soon overtake them, so only ran to charge their Pistols, and stand, till they came up; then discharged them, to put them in Confusion, and ran again, to prolong the time, in hopes of some Aid. All this we understood by the *Spaniard*, who crept into the Bush undiscovered by the *Indians*, he being the Foremost in Flight. He told us, moreover, that about three Leagues further, there was a Fort belonging to the *Spaniards* to stop the *Indians*, they using to make Inroads before that Fort was built, even to the Gates of the City of *Havana*. Upon this we consulted, and resolved to follow on the Edge of the Road, to see how we could be assisting. We soon came even with them, for they were in a narrow Place, and the *Spaniards* kept them at Bay pretty well. By good Fortune there was an high Hedge made by Trees all along as we went, which hindered us from being discovered. Here we resolved to fire upon them all together, and then run further up, and if possible get out into the Road, and face them.

Accordingly we agreed to fire four, and three, and the first Four to charge again immediately. Mr. *Musgrave*, Mr. *Middleton*, Mr. *White*, and myself, agreed to fire first; then *Hood*, *Rouse*, and *Plymouth*: which as soon as we had taken good Aim, we did; and firing at their Backs, killed four downright,

and wounded several, for I had ordered them to put two Bullets into each Piece. As soon as ever we had fired our Muskets, we let fly one Pistol each, and then the other three fired their Guns. When *Plymouth* had fired, he ran and charged our four Guns, (he having never a Pistol,) and then we let fly our other Pistols. With these discharges we had killed at least fifteen *Indians*, and put the rest into such Fright that they began to run; (for with the Dust and Bustle they made, they could hardly distinguish from whence the Fire came,) neither did they stop, till they met with the poor wounded *Spaniard*, who had crept out, hearing the discharge of our Pieces, as we supposed: they fell upon the poor Fellow with Shouts and Outcries, and tore him to Pieces, never minding the *Spaniards* pursuing them; who cried "*Miraculo! Miraculo!*"

By this Time we got within twenty Yards of the End of the Hedge, where we seven fired our Muskets, and left them to *Plymouth* to charge; then we ran in at once with our Pistols, and discharged them close upon them. With this last Fire we dropped them twelve Men, when the *Indians* screamed out, and ran away as fast as they could. We did not think fit to follow, for it was not to any Purpose, being they were soon out of Sight. We charged our Guns and Pistols again, and the twelve *Spaniards* did the like: they having nine in the last Conflict killed, and two despe-

vately wounded. They gave us Thanks for our Rescue, and said we were surely sent from Heaven to their Relief. They let us know they were Tax-gatherers for the King of *Spain*, and were obliged to go in Numbers, and well armed, for fear of these desperate *Indians*; who, about nine Years ago, set upon them, and killed eighteen of them, only two escaped; but they had never met with any Molestation from that day till now; so that now (thinking the Danger over) they lessened their Number from fifty to thirty: which I suppose the *Indians* having notice of, was the Occasion of their attack.

We had not gone above half a League onward, but we heard dreadful Shoutings as before; and looking behind us, it being a straight Road, we could perceive a Cloud of Dust, and the *Indians* running full speed towards us. Upon which, we put down our two wounded Men that were on Horseback, and mounted upon the *Spaniards* spare Horses. Now we being nineteen Horsemen, resolved to stand it. We divided into Ranks; four in a Rank, which made five Ranks; only there were but three in the last Rank. So we resolved to keep directly one behind the other, and when the first File had fired, to fall in the Rear and charge again. The *Spaniards* would make up the three first Ranks; as they said they could not in Honour expose us to the first Onset, being we ventured our Lives in

coming to their Assistance. We had no time to dispute, for now they were just upon us, and to our Surprise had several Fire-Arms among them. As soon as they got within an hundred Paces of us, they fired ; but not above two of their Pieces went off, the rest were clogged with Dust in running, very happily for us. The Shot missed us by Providence, and we would not give them time to charge again, but moved forward and fired in upon them, and did great Execution. When it again came to our turn to Fire, we in the Heat forgot our Orders : but after we had discharged our Guns, and Pistols, we fell in with them with our Cutlasses ; and being raised above them, by being on Horseback, did great Execution ; and that, with the *Spaniards* charging and firing again, put them to the Rout. But now we followed them being on Horseback, and dispersed them, so that it was impossible for them to rally any more that Night. However we took four of them Prisoners, and tying their Hands behind them, fastened them to two of our foremost Horses, the rest following after, that they might not get loose.

We were met in the Road by twenty *Spanish* Horse, with each a Foot-Soldier behind them, who were upon the full Gallop to our Assistance, being alarmed by the *Mulatto* that rode by ; but I believe some were glad they came too late. The Officer and the rest saluted us very courteously, when they

heard how luckily we came to their Assistance; but they fell a whipping the poor naked *Indians* so barbarously, that though they deserved it, I could not bear to see it done: and though the blood followed every Lash, yet they never cried out. This is the chief cause of the Hatred of the *Indians*; when ever the *Spaniards* get any of them in their Power, they put them to all manner of Torture; but if, on the contrary, they would use them civilly, and discharge them now and then, I am sure they might live in perfect Friendship with them: For the *Indians* are good natured, and affable, till they are incensed, and then they are implacable.

We arrived at the Fort about Evening, and were very well entertained. The Officer did not doubt but to procure us a Ship to transport us to *Jamaica*, though he had Orders from *Havana* to secure all *English* Vessels; there being a War talked of between the *Spanish*, *French*, *English* and *Dutch*. The next Day the Officer mightily bragged of being an old *Spaniard*, that is, born in *Spain*, and of an ancient Family. Mr. *Musgrave* made us very merry upon the Road, by interpreting the Don's Speeches. We found all along from the Fort, a great many Gentlemen's Houses pleasantly situated, and the Country yielding delightful Prospects.

We were well entertained at a Gentleman's House at Dinner, with Provisions dressed after the *English* Way, and all manner of Sweetmeats, and cool

Wines. The Gentleman had a Vault or Cellar thirty Foot deep under Ground. He spoke pretty good *English*, and had been a Factor several Years in *London*; knew our Customs and Manners very well, and preferred our Way of dressing Victuals before their own. He had an *English* Cook from a *Tavern* behind the *Royal-Exchange*, whom he brought with him into *Spain*, and from thence to *Cuba*, where he had a vast Estate left him. As soon as we had dined, we were obliged to get on Horseback, and away for the *Havana*, which we reached about six o'Clock in the Evening. We had Rooms allotted us; and several *English* and *Irish* men came to see us, who lived there.

Havana has one of the finest Harbours in the Universe, not for its greatness, but its security; yet able to contain five hundred Ships of the greatest burthen. The Mouth of the Harbour is commanded by a *Platoon*; and a square Fort, fastened together by a strong boom, or iron chain, that no Ship can enter. The most shallow part of the whole Harbour is eight Fathom Water, and all its Banks are paved round with flat stone, so that a Vessel of a thousand ton may lay her side to it and unlade. Just between the two Forts there stands a round Watch Tower, where they discover to the Town how Vessels are coming towards the Harbour, by putting out a Flag for every Ship. This City almost as soon as it was built, was sacked by a

French Pirate in the Year 1536, who was driven thither by a Tempest; and landing his Men, well armed, took the City in spite of all resistance, and burnt many of the Houses, they being most part Wood; and had consumed them all, had not the *Spaniards* redeemed the rest by paying them a thousand Ducats. Upon receiving the Money, they made out to Sea: and the same Evening came into the *Havana*, three Ships from *Spain*, who hearing of what had chanced, prepared to follow them; taking several Soldiers on board. The Admiral who sailed best, got the first Sight of the *Frenchman*; but being fearful to attack him before the other Ships came up, lay by. The *Frenchman* seeing that, boldly set upon the first Ship, and took her without fighting; the second seeing that, tacked about and ran a-shore, and was taken by the Ship's Boat; the third also ran the same fate. Flushed with this success, they returned to the *Havana* the second time, and exacted a thousand *Ducats* more, or else they threatened to level the City with the Ground; which was paid them immediately.

I met there with a Priest, whom I am sure harboured nothing of Cruelty in his Breast, for he came to see us every Day, and in such a friendly Manner, that charmed us all. He was always sending us one good thing or other, and would take us to divert us abroad. He understood *Latin* very well, and.

some *English*: On the *Sunday* he preached an excellent Sermon in *Spanish*, as Mr. *Musgrave* informed us, whose chief Heads ran upon us, and to excite Charity in the Auditors, to let us have what was necessary for carrying us to *Jamaica*. The next Day he brought us to the Value of fifty Pounds in *Spanish* Dollars, which were collected at the Church Doors for us. There was a small Vessel of about forty ton upon the Stocks, that was bought of the Owners for us, and a Collection made in the Town for Money to pay for it. We told them of the Provision we had left on Shore, which by our Computation could not be above twenty Leagues off; but they told us it would be difficult to find it. One Day a *Spaniard* met us walking with Father *Antonio* in one of the Cloisters of the Convent, and reprimanded him for favouring *Hereticks* (as he called us) so much.

We were told our Vessel was ready, and therefore might be going when we pleased. It was a very neat one as ever was built by the *Spaniards*; and carried between thirteen and fourteen ton. We had all sorts of Provision sent on board for half a Year, or more, so that we only staid for the Wind to rise, it being quite calm.

While we remained there, the four unfortunate *Indians* were executed in the midst of the *Parade*. They were first to be dragged by four Horses, naked, along the great Street to the

Parade; and then to be chained to a Post, fixed for that purpose, and burnt to Death. I must confess, when I saw with what barbarous Cruelty they designed to use them, I repented my being an Instrument in the taking of them. This Execution was ordered to be between seven and eight in the Evening, being then it was coolest: All the *Indian* Slaves, that served *Spanish* Masters in the Town, were ordered to go and be Spectators of the Tragedy; that they might see what they must expect if they ever offered to rebel in the like manner. When the time came, the whole street was crowded with a vast number of people of all conditions. But such a sight I never desire to see again. Each *Indian* was tied by the Feet to the Harness of an Horse, and so dragged from the Prison, to the place of Execution upon the bare Stones, naked; their Arms tied upon their Breasts, and fastened upon their Backs, that they might not lift them up to save themselves, as they were dragged along the Stones. By that time the poor Creatures came to the *Parade*, the Skin of their Legs, Thighs, and Back, was almost stripped off, yet without the least Complaint. As soon as they were tied fast to the Stake, the *Spaniards* took from a Pot of liquid Pitch, boiling hot, a Stick with something fastened to the end of it, and rubbed over their naked Bodies. One of them then, I observed, began to faint, but was rated by another of his Fellow

Sufferers in their own Language, which none understood but *Indians*; and the poor Fellow seemed to bear it much better. Before the Fire was put to the Pile, a Fryar stepped up to them, and in *Spanish* spoke to the *Indian* that was ready to faint before, who had been Servant in the Town, but ran away from his Master, and understood *Spanish*. The Fryar desired them, if they would be happy in the other World, to acknowledge themselves Christians, and go out of the World in that Faith. Upon this the *Indian* answered, “ When I lived among you (said he) and was taught to worship your God, you told me he was an upright God; and a just God to them that served him faithfully, but an avenging Power to those that once offended him: If so, how comes it to pass that he has not punished you for all your Crimes? Murder is one of your Commandments not to be forgiven. I know not any one thing that I have heard preached to us poor *Indians*, that you practise yourselves. Therefore if your *Spanish* God be, as you described him to us, the Curse must fall upon you, if we cannot believe in him, being we are deterred by the cruelties you inflict upon us; when we find your actions and words differ more than our complections.”

He said more, which was to excite the *Indians* to rebel, but they put a stop to it, by putting fire to the Wood; which being composed of several

combustible materials, soon consumed the poor Wretches.

When all was over, Father *Antonio* took us Home to his Lodgings, to give us a small collation for the last Time; being the next day we did all design to lie on board, in expectation of the Wind rising. We told him by Mr. *Musgrave*, that we thought it a great weakness in them to preach in that manner, to *Indians* in their condition; and it would be apt to make others despise their Religion, said Mr. *Musgrave*, *it is like courting a Woman to Love by Stripes*. “Why,” said Father *Antonio*, “I must confess it is not what any of our Fathers like, but it is what we are ordered to do, and therefore must not be denied.” So we refreshed ourselves, and took our leaves of the good Father; who blessed, and embraced us, and said he would pray for our prosperous Voyage. On the next day, we paid our hearty acknowledgments to all our Benefactors, and went on board; where we had not been a quarter of an hour, before an extraordinary Message came from the Governor, for *Plymouth*, our Black; who went with them without any hesitation, and returned with a present from the Governor, of several Bottles of Rack, *Spanish Wines*, Fowls, Rice, and Brandy, with twenty pieces of *Spanish Gold*, as the Messenger told us, in recompence for the loss of our Companion; for the Gover-

nor had sent for *Plymouth*, to know if he would serve him in quality of his Trumpeter, and a Pension should be settled on him for life. *Plymouth* thought fit to accept of it, as having no Master, nor knowing when he should have one: But he got leave to come on board to bid us farewell, which he did in a very affectionate manner. So we parted with *Plymouth*, with our hearty thanks recommended to Father *Antonio* for all his favours. *Plymouth* had a Trumpet given him by the Governor, as soon as he came on Shore, which he brought with him; and sounded all the way in the Boat, as he went back again, to oblige us; for really he sounded extraordinarily well, and had learned on several other Instruments, having a tolerable understanding in Music. The wind rising, we weighed anchor, and left the Port with three Huzzas, and a Volley of small Arms, (we having no Cannon,) and in two days lost sight of the Island of *Cuba*.

This famous Island of *Cuba*, was called *Jouanna* by *Columbus* the first discoverer, afterwards *Fernandina*, then *Alpha* and *Omega*, as being the first and last Island the *Spaniards* touched at: But afterwards was called *Cuba*, and still retains that name. This is reckoned one of the four Islands of the *Barlovento*. The others are *Hispaniola*, *Jamaica*, and *Porto-Rico*. The North side of *Cuba* is fortified with a vast number of

small Islands, called the *Lucaies*, which some Geographers have taken for a part of the main Land. The chief is *Bahama*, which forms the Gulf of *Florida*; the passage that all ships go through, when they come out of the *West-Indies* into *Europe*.

The *Spaniards* have a Proverb here; *That the Time will come, that English Men will walk as freely in their Streets, as the Spaniards do now*. If it were so, it would be of a prodigious Advantage to the *English*, being the *Havana* is a Strait that commands all the Ships that come out of the *Indies* for *Europe*; and I really think from what I have seen, that it would be in the Power of ten thousand Men, with a Fleet proportionable, to overcome the whole Island in a little time. Besides, it is observed, that there are more Prizes brought into the *Havana*, than any four Havens in the *Indies*.

While we were at the *Havana*, a *Spaniard* carried two strange Beasts about the Streets for a Show, that he brought from *Brazil*; the one was called *At*, with a head something resembling that of a Man's, and covered with rough short grey hair: each Foot had three Claws close together, about a Finger long; very sharp Teeth, with a smooth high black Nose, very small sleepy Eyes, and no Ears, with a Tail small above and broad at the bottom, with Hair all over the body of an

ash colour. This Beast is about the size of a large Fox, but so lazy a Creature, that when it gets up a Tree, it never comes down till it has devoured every leaf; and when it has done, it will sit there twenty days together without eating, and be almost starved before it will take the pains to go down to feed. It cannot travel or creep in a whole day above a quarter of a mile. This that was shown to us, never would stir till roused with a stick, and it would be asleep again in an Instant.

The other Creature was something like a *Baboon*, but considerably larger, with a Face and long Beard, like an old Man's, and hairy like a Goat, all over the body; his Ears bald, his Eyes black, large, and sparkling. He that showed it to us, called it a *Cayon*; its Tail is about four or five foot long, which they twist round a Tree, and so sling themselves to the next.

Peter Martyr relates a story of one of them, that seeing a *Spaniard* going to fire a gun at him, it snatched up a little Child that was there, and held it before him as a Buckler; and would not let it go, before the *Spaniard* was retired; then he laid the Child gently down, and ran away. The fellow that showed them, sold them to the Governor of *Havana* for two hundred Dollars.

(XI.) The weather continued favourable, so that we arrived at *Jamaica* without meeting any thing re-

markable in our passage. As soon as we had cast Anchor, I ordered the Boat to be made ready to carry me on board my own Ship, which I saw ride there. But when I got up the Ship-side, I found my Clothes selling at the Mast, at, *Who bids more?* Which is the method, as soon as a Person is dead, or killed: the first Harbour they anchor in, the Clothes of the deceased are brought upon Deck, and sold by auction; the money to be paid when they come to *England*: for it generally happens that Sailors have not any till they come home again.

They were at the last Article, when I came up the Ship-side, which was a pair of black worsted Stockings that cost I believe about four shillings, which went at twelve and six-pence, though they had been worn. As soon as I was seen by them, some cried out *a Ghost! a Ghost!* and others ran away to secure the Clothes they had bought, suspecting that now I would have them again. When they were satisfied of my being alive, and were told my Story, they were all rejoiced at my good Fortune; but none would be prevailed upon to let me have my Clothes again. So I took up the Slop-book, and cast up what they were sold for; and found, that what cost me about twenty pound, were sold for four times the Money. When I was satisfied in that, I called every person, one by one, that had bought any of my Clothes, and struck a bargain with them for ready Money, and bought

them for about ten Pound ; but the ready Money pleased them mightily.

Captain *Wase* being sick ashore, I went to pay him a Visit, where he was mighty glad to see me, as believing I had perished. He told me, that the Vessel hung lights out for several hours, that I might know where to swim ; and laid by as long as the Wind would permit ; as the Crew acquainted him when they came into Harbour. The Captain told me, that he did not think he should live long, therefore was mighty glad I was come to take charge of the Ship, which had sailed before, if he had been in a condition to bear the Sea. From thence I went on board my new Bark, and settled my affairs there with my Companions, who were mighty sorry to think of parting with me. *Hood* and *Rouse*, desired they might be received on board as Sailors, and go to *England* with us ; for *Hood* was an *Englishman*, and *Rouse* had friends there. Besides, it was as easy to go from *England* to *Bermudas*, as from *Jamaica*. So I spoke to the Captain, who was very well pleased to receive them, being he had lost five Men by the Distemper of the * Country. The poor Captain died in a Week after my coming, and left me Executor for his Wife, who lived at *Bristol*.

As soon as we had buried him, I went on board with my two Men, and did design to sail in three

* It would appear from this, that the Yellow Fever has always more, or less, prevailed in the West Indies.

days at farthest ; which I would have done before, but that I was hindered by wanting a Chapman for our Bark ; being we had shares to dispose of. When I came on board, the Master told me he had no occasion for the two Men, to add to their charge. Said I, “ that is as I shall think fit, for the Power is in my hands now.” And who put that Power into your hands ? said the Master. “ He that had Power so to do (said I) the Captain,” whereupon I shewed him in Writing. He told me, it did not signify any thing, and that he should find no one of the Sailors would obey a Boy, incapable to steer a Vessel. It would be a pretty Thing, added he, for my Mate to become my Captain ; and as I was designed by the Captain to have the command of the Vessel before you came, so I intend to keep it. “ But (said I,) this Paper signed by his own hand, is but of two days’ date, and you cannot shew any thing for the command, as you pretend to ; therefore I’ll make my complaint to the Governor, and he shall right me.” Ay, ay, do so ! (said he,) I’ll stand to any thing he shall command.

Whereupon *Rouse, Hood*, and myself, went into the Boat again, and rowed immediately on Shore ; but the Governor was six miles up in the Country ; and it being pretty late, we designed to wait for his coming home, which we were told would be in the Morning early. So I went on board the Bark,

and laid there all Night; the Ship lying beyond the Quays two Leagues from the Harbour, in order to sail. The next Morning getting up, with an intent to wait upon the Governor, and looking towards the place where the Ship lay over Night, I found she was gone; and casting my Eyes towards Sea, saw a Ship four or five Leagues distant from us, which we supposed to be ours. I immediately went on Shore, and found the Governor just come to Town, and made my complaint. He told me there was no Remedy, but to send immediately to *Blewfields Bay*, where he supposed they would stop to get Wood; which was usual with our Ships that were bound for *England*: Whereupon there was a Messenger ordered for *Blewfields*, which I accompanied, to give instructions to the Officer that commanded at the Fort, to seize the Master of the Ship, and order him before the Governor at *Port Royal*. So we got on horseback, and reached it in three Days, it being almost an hundred miles. When we came there, we found several Ships in the Harbour, but none that we wanted: so we waited a week all to no purpose, for she passed the Bay, as mistrusting our design. Upon this we were obliged to return with an heavy heart, and tell the Governor of our ill success; who pitied me, and told me he would see me shipped in the first Vessel bound for *England*. So I went on board my own Bark, where they

were all glad to see me, though sorry I was so disappointed. Now I was very glad that I had not disposed of my Bark, for I thought now it might be of use to me. We consulted together, to know what was best to do; at last I made a Bargain with them, if they would venture with me in our Bark to *England*: Upon this we agreed; and with what Money I had, I began to lade my Vessel with things to traffick with. I bought a good quantity of Indigo; some Cotton, Sugar, and Rumm. In short, I laid out the best part of my Money; and on *June* the 1st, 1700, set sail, and steered our course for *England*.

We put in at *Blewfields Bay*, for the convenience of Wood and Water, and when we were provided, steered our course onward: But as we came within ten Leagues of the *Havana*, a *Spanish* Man of War, of 40 guns, came up with us; who commanded us to strike our Sails, which we did immediately; and coming on board us, were surprised to find us all *Englishmen*, not expecting other than *Spaniards* from the build of our Vessel. Whereupon they made us all Prisoners, and sent fifteen Men on board us to carry the Vessel into the *Havana*. Telling them how we came by the Vessel did not signify any thing, for they said we were Pirates and had seized it. And our Pass which we had from the Governor of *Havana*, not being to be found, made things appear but with

an indifferent Face. We were afraid we should find many difficulties in getting our liberty, especially if they went to their Station, which was *St. Jago*. But it happened better than we expected, for she made directly to the Port of the *Havana*, where we knew every thing would be placed in a true Light again. When we were anchored, and the People could come on board us, we were soon known; and the Captain going to the Governor, was informed of the matter: so we were released immediately, and had a visit made us from Father *Antonio*, and honest *Plymouth*, who were mightily rejoiced to see us.

We were detained two days, before we could get away; and then we set Sail with a brisk Gale, first saluting the Town.

(XII.) In two days after our Sailing, we made *Cape Florida*, and entered the Gulf, that bears the same Name, and passed it without danger. But here a sudden Calm overtook us, as frequently happens when you are past the Gulf, and the Current set strong to Westward; occasioned, as we supposed, by the opening of the Land upon that Coast. The Calm lasting for four days, we were insensibly carried within half a League of the Shore, but a little Breeze rising from Land, helped us farther out again. But still our danger more increased; for we soon perceived three large *Canoes* making towards us, full of *Indians*, armed.

We had not much Time to consult what to do, for they gained upon us every moment. Now Death, or something worse than Death, glared us in the Face; and most of us thought this the last day we had to live. *Come, Friends, (said I) if we must die, let us die bravely like Englishmen.* We charged our four guns with double and round, and our Patteraroes with musket-balls: the rest of our arms we got in readiness, and resolved to die fighting, and not suffer ourselves to be taken to be miserably butchered, as all the *Indians* of *Florida* do, when they get any Whites in their power. We resolved to fire our six muskets upon them, as soon as they came within reach; so we took our aim, two at each *Canoe*, and fired upon them, which did them some damage, for they stopped upon it. We made the best of our way, but they soon pursued us with loud and rude shouts.

By this time we had charged our muskets again, and fired as before, at the same distance. Whatever damage we did them, they came on as fast as they could; but not until we had charged our pieces the third time, which we fired as before: but did more execution, as being nearer to us; and now we charged them the fourth time, and laid them along upon the deck for a further occasion. Our great guns we fired one at a time. The first we fired at was the largest *Canoe*, which put them

in such confusion, that they fell foul of one another; and being in a huddle together, we fired the other three, that made a mighty havock among them. We now thought of a victory, instead of being made Slaves; and bore up to them, that we might make our Pateraroes of use to us, which we fired upon them with partridge (or musket) shot, that answered our end: for now they began to turn about. Which, we seeing, fired our muskets the fourth time, which killed two *Indians*; and charging our great guns, or three pounders, and firing at their Boats (or Canoes) we sunk one of them; but the Men swam to the other Canoes, and taking hold of the sides, with their weight turned them over. Mr. *Musgrave*, and the rest of our Men, advised to make up to them, and in this confusion kill them all. But I was satisfied with the disappointment they had met with; and as it was not in their power to hurt us further, resolved to make the best of our way.

Looking towards the Shore, we saw eight more of their Canoes standing towards us; this put us upon making all the Sail we could, and the Sea breeze being now pretty strong, we had good way. We thought the Canoes would stay, when they came up with the other three; but they came after us, along with those *Indians* that they had taken up. We had charged our great guns with great shot, and fired at them; but missed them.

We charged them the second time, and one shot, by good Fortune, took the first Canoe and over-set her, which put them into more confusion than before: still five of them pursued us, which were met with by some of our musket balls, that gave two of them their *quietus*; and firing our great guns once more, we sunk one of their Canoes, but the Men soon got into the other, and followed us still.

Seeing this, we resolved on one strong effort: So we backed our main Sail, and laid by for them, and brought our four guns to one side, and our four pateraroes to bear accordingly. We charged our muskets once more, and placed them in readiness, with two half pikes, and our cutlasses; and now we resolved not to fire, till every gun might do execution. We staid till they came within two Ships length of us, and then we fired upon them as fast as ever we could, which proved effectual; for we killed at least twenty. Upon which, they set up dreadful, uncommon noises, and rowed back as fast as ever they could. We gave them our farewell musket-shots, and made the best of our way.

By a moderate computation, we killed at least fifty *Indians*, without their once firing at us; neither could we conceive how they intended to assault us, nor whether they had any Fire Arms, for we saw none.

After we had brought our Vessel to rights again, we assembled ourselves, and returned our sincere thanks to the Defender of the weak, and the Giver of all good Things, for our happy deliverance. We saw the Canoes paddling towards Shore, and they were met by several others, with a design, as we supposed, to assist them; but we were now too far for them, and there was nothing more to be feared, and so we sailed on with a prosperous Gale, and met with nothing worth note, 'till *Thursday, July the 15th*, when we discovered Land; which amazed us all, for we did not think of falling in with any Shore 'till we saw *England*. We went to consult our Charts, and saw we were near *Newfoundland*; and finding that, we steered directly into *St. John's Harbour*, which is the Capital of the Island: I mean of that part which belongs to the *English*. This Harbour is large, fair, strong, and commodious, commanded by several good Forts, and has a strong Boom that shuts it up: the Town consists of about 800 Houses, built after the manner of the Houses in *England*.

The Climate is much the same as in *England*, very wholesome. In short, *Newfoundland* resembles *England* in every thing so much, that if a Man could be carried thence in his sleep, he would only think he had strayed somewhere out of his knowledge.

After being there two days, we set sail, and

made our course to *England*, *July 25*, 1700. We met with no extraordinary accident in our Passage, 'till we discovered the Land's End, *August* the 21st. How rejoiced I was to see my Native Country, let them judge that have been in the same condition as I have. I may with truth say, that the transports I felt, on first seeing the white Cliffs of the Island that gave me Birth, exceeded the joy I received, when I was delivered from the most imminent danger.

CHAPTER VI.

PACIFIC OCEAN.

Shipwreck of Captain Flinders and Lieutenant Fowler, in His Majesty's Armed Vessel, PORPOISE, and of Mr. Park, Commander of the Ship CATO, on a Coral Reef, as represented in the Frontispiece.

(From MSS. and other Information furnished by the Officers.

THE Service to which the INVESTIGATOR, *Matthew Flinders*, Esq. Commander, was appointed by his Majesty, is sufficiently known; and we have only to lament, that the particulars of so interesting a Voyage, detailing a Survey of the S. W. Coast of New *Holland*, have hitherto been withheld from the Public owing to the flagrant and dishonourable conduct of the French: who have detained *Captain Flinders* a Prisoner in the *Isle of France*, though in possession of a

Passport from their Government. Their conduct in this respect is marked with peculiar illiberality: since it was principally owing to the earnest application of Sir *Joseph Banks*, that Mons. *Labillardiere's* captured Specimens of Natural History, with all other Papers, Charts, Plans, &c. were transmitted from London to Paris in the month of August, 1796. And so exact were our * Ministers in their compliance with this application, that the Board of Admiralty ordered a Lieutenant to be sent to *Havre* in a Flag of Truce, with the twenty Cases of this Collection. Such is the difference between the minds of Statesmen in the GREAT NATION, and the Little Island.

The INVESTIGATOR was accompanied in the early part of her Voyage, on the Coast of *New Holland*, by the *Lady Nelson* Brig, and was condemned as unserviceable at *Port Jackson*, in August 1803. Upon which the *Porpoise* was fitted to carry home *Captain Flinders*, and some of his † Officers, in expectation of getting another

* Voyage in search of *La Perouse*, from the French of *Labillardiere*, (Vol. I, Translator's Preface, page 19.)

† Those with a Star prefixed remained at *Port Jackson*.

Mr. Fowler, *First Lieutenant of the Investigator*.

Samuel Flinders, *Second Lieutenant, Brother to the Captain*.

John Aikin, *Acting Master*.

Robert Purdie, *Surgeon*.

* Mr. Brown, *Naturalist*.

Ship, to renew the purposed Voyage of Discovery. Which, after investigating the Coast of *New Holland*, particularly the S. W. part, would have been extended to the *South Seas*. The intended track of the *Porpoise* homeward, lay through Forest's Straits, between the Coasts of *New Holland* and *New Guinea*, into the Indian Ocean.

(I.) The first notice that appeared of this Shipwreck of the *Porpoise*, and *Cato*, was published at *Port Jackson*, in the *Sidney Gazette*; of which the following is a Copy: *Captain Flinders, late Commander of H. M. Sloop Investigator, and Mr. Park, Commander of the Ship Cato, arrived at Government House, at half past three in the afternoon of the eighth Instant (September, 1803), with the following disagreeable intelligence, as communicated in a Letter to his * Excellency.*

Sidney, New South Wales, Sept. 9, 1803.

SIR,

I HAVE to inform you of my arrival here yesterday, in a six-oared Cutter, belonging to his

William Westall, *Landscape Painter*, (who designed the Frontispiece for the present Volume.)

* Mr. Bauer, *Botanic Painter*.

Mr. Mart, *Carpenter*, (who built a Schooner on the Reef, in a most masterly manner, though the first he had ever constructed.

* Governor Philip Gidley King, Post Captain, R. N.

Majesty's armed Vessel *Porpoise*, commanded* by Lieutenant *Fowler*; which Ship, I am sorry to state to your Excellency, I left on shore upon a Coral Reef, without any prospect of her being saved, in latitude $22^{\circ} 11'$ South, and longitude $155^{\circ} 13'$ East: being 196 miles to the N., 38° East from *Sandy Cape*, and 729 miles from this Port. The Ship *Cato*, which was in Company, is entirely lost upon the same Reef, and broken to pieces, without any thing having been saved from her: but the Crew, with the exception of three, are, with the whole of the Officers, Crew, and Passengers of the *Porpoise*, upon a small Sand Bank, near the Wrecks; with sufficient Provisions, and Water saved from the *Porpoise*, to subsist the whole, amounting to 80 Men, for three Months.

“ Accompanied by the Commander of the *Cato*, Mr. John *Park*, and twelve Men, I left *Wreck Reef* in the Cutter, with three weeks Provisions, on Friday, *August* the 26th, in the Morning; and on the 28th, in the Evening, made the Land near *Indian Head*, from whence I kept the coast on board to this place.

“ I cannot state the extent of *Wreck Reef* to the Eastward, but a Bank is visible in that direction, six or seven Miles from the Wrecks. In a

* The direction of the Ship's Course remained with Captain *Flinders*. The *Porpoise* had been originally a Spanish Packet.

West direction we rowed along the Reef twelve Miles; but saw no other dangers in the passage towards *Sandy Cape*. There are several passages through the Reef, and Anchorage in from 15 to 22 fathoms, upon a sandy Bottom: the Flag-staff bearing S. E. to S. S. W. distance from three quarters, to one and a quarter mile.

“ After the above Statement, it is unnecessary for me to make Application to your Excellency, to furnish me with the means of relieving the Crews of the two Ships, from the precarious situation in which they are placed: since your Humanity, and former unremitting attention to the *Investigator*, and *Porpoise*, are sureties, that the earliest and most effectual means will be taken; either to bring them back to this Port, or to send them, and myself, onward towards *England*.

“ I enclose to your Excellency a Letter from Lieutenant *Fowler* upon this Occasion; and as he refers to me for the particulars of the Wreck, an account thereof is also enclosed.

“ I think it proper to notice to your Excellency, that the great exertions of Lieutenant *Fowler*, and his Officers, and Ship's Company, as well as the Passengers belonging to the *Investigator*, in saving His Majesty's Stores, have been very praise worthy; and I judge, that the precautions that were taken, will exonerate the Commander of the *Porpoise* from

the blame, that might otherwise be attached to the loss of His Majesty's armed Vessel.

“ I have the honour to be

“ Your Excellency's

“ Obedient humble Servant,

“ MATTHEW FLINDERS.”

(II.) Captain *FLINDERS*' Account of the loss of His Majesty's armed Vessel *Porpoise*, and the *Cato*, upon *Wreck Reef*: published in the *Sidney Paper*.

THE *Porpoise*, with the Honourable East India Company's extra Ship, *Bridgewater*, and the Ship *Cato* in Company, on *August* 17, (1803,) at two in the Afternoon, fell in with a Sand Bank, in about $23^{\circ} 0' 7''$ South latitude, and $155^{\circ} 26'$ East longitude, and 157 miles N. 51° East from *Sandy Cape* on the coast of *New South Wales*. This Bank being 2° to the Eastward of the situation, where the *Eliza* Whaler found the Reefs lying off the Coast, to terminate; it was thought to be such a detached Bank, as some others seen before by Lieutenant *Ball*, and Mr. *Bampton*, which lie much further over towards the N.E. end of *New Caledonia*; and no expectation of meeting with any more was entertained: especially as the *Investigator* had before steered for *Torres' Strait* from Reefs several degrees further to the West, without interruption.

The Signal being made to keep under easy working Sail during the Night, and a Warrant Officer being placed at the look-out, on board the *Porpoise*, the Ships steered N.N.W. on their Courses, with a faint breeze from the E.S.E. The *Bridgewater* being on the starboard Quarter, and the *Cato* on the larboard Quarter of the leading Ship. At eight o'Clock the *Porpoise* sounded with 35 fathoms, but found no Bottom. At half past nine, Breakers were seen a head, and the *Porpoise's* Helm was put down, in order to tack from them : but the Fore-sail being hauled up, to keep the other Ships in sight, she was then under the three double reefed Top-sails, and only came up, head to Wind. In paying off again, she struck upon the Coral Reef which occasioned the Breakers.

A gun was attempted to be fired, to warn the other Ships : but owing to the confusion, and the Spray that was flying over, it could not be accomplished ; and before Lights were brought up, the *Bridgewater*, and *Cato*, had hauled to the Wind, on different Tacks, across each other. The two Ships must have touched, and gone upon the Reef together, had not the Commander of the latter Ship stopped setting her Main-sail, and bore away, to let the *Bridgewater* go to windward ; by which means she cleared the Breakers, and stood on to the Southward : but the * *Cato*, missing Stays, and

* An extract from the Journal of the *Cato* has been published in the *Naval Chronicle* (Vol. xii, page 303.)

for want of her Main-sail when she tried to tack, struck upon the Reef about two Cables length from the *Porpoise*.

The *Porpoise* heeled in upon the Reef, and lay upon her broadside, so that the Surfs flew over, but did not fill her. The Fore-mast went very soon, but the other Masts stood until they were cut away. The * *Cato* unfortunately took the opposite inclination, and the Sea breaking in furiously upon her Decks, tore them up, and every thing within the Ship almost immediately : leaving the Crew no place, where they could not be washed off, but the inner Fore-chains, where they clung all Night, with their eyes bent to the S.W. after the *Bridge-water*, and waiting anxiously for Day-break ; when they confidently hoped that the Boats of that Ship would come to their relief.

An hour after the *Porpoise* had struck, a small Gig, and a six oared Cutter, were got out to leeward, but the latter was stove. Observing that the Breaking Water did not extend any distance to

* According to the above-mentioned extract from her Journal, " She struck the Reef ast, at a quarter before ten, P. M. We attempted to get out the Boats, but the *Cato* unfortunately heeling off to the Sea, the Surf broke so violently upon her Decks, that it staved them. We then cut away the Lanyards of the inner Shrouds, and the Masts went by the Board. All hands then took to the inner Fore-chains. In this situation we clung all Night. At 10 A.M. the *Cato* began to part at the larboard Gangway, previous to which, all her Decks were blown up. The *Cato's* Decks being copper fastened, the nails all drew, and whole planks came up together."

Leeward, I spoke to Lieutenant *Fowler*, the Commander of the Ship, and told him of my intention, to get the Charts, and Log Books of the *Investigator's* Voyage into the small Boat, that I might go on board the *Bridgewater*; and with her Boats be enabled to get the people out of the Ship as soon as possible. This was assented to: and with six Men, and two Oars, I got through the Surf, without being swamped, though nearly full. The smooth water was found to be upon Coral, and just deep enough to float the Boat. After rowing for a short time towards the *Bridgewater*, I saw, that unless she tacked, it was impossible for me to come near her: and, as her Lights showed her to be standing on, I determined to get back to the Wreck, and leave my Charts and Books in the Boat. But the Surf ran too high for this to be done in the Night; and I therefore kept rowing gently under the lee of the Breakers, and the Cutter, which by this time had got her leaks partly stopped, and had shoved off. I also desired them to keep near the Ship until Morning.

Several blue-lights were burnt on board the *Porpoise* during the Night; and some on board saw the *Bridgewater* answer them, by showing a Light; whilst others thought it to be only a general Light, which was still visible: It was last seen about two in the Morning.

A Raft was prepared during the Night, lest the

Ship might go to pieces; and at Day-Break I got on board the *Porpoise* by the help of the fallen Masts. A dry Sand Bank was now seen near the Wreck, sufficient to receive every body, and all the Provisions and Stores that might be saved out of the Ship; and we had the still further satisfaction of seeing the *Bridgewater* standing towards us. Every body was now set to work to get up Provisions and Water, to be landed on the Sand Bank: whilst I went again with the small Boat, in order to get off to the *Bridgewater*, as soon as she should come near enough, in order to point out to Captain *Palmer* the shelter to leeward; where he might safely take every body on board, with what else could be saved.

On landing at the Bank, I hoisted up two Handkerchiefs to a tall Oar: but about ten o'clock it appeared that the Ship had gone upon the other Tack, not being able probably to weather the Reef, and she was not seen any more during the Day. Whether the *Bridgewater* saw the Wrecks, or the Bank, cannot be certainly known; but her Courses, if not her Hull, were visible from both the Ships.

As the Tide fell, the people of the *Cato* quitted her, and got through the Surf to the *Porpoise's* small Boat, which waited within side to receive them; and at low Water, about two o'clock, the Reef was dry, very near to the latter Ship; and every person was employed, getting Provisions,

Water, and their Clothes, upon the Reef, whence they were taken to the Bank by the Boats; for round the Bank the Water was deeper. Before dark, five half Hogsheads of water were landed, as also some Flour, Salt, Meat, Rice, and Spirits; besides Pigs and Sheep; and every body had got on Shore with some necessaries, together with the *Cato's* people: these last had left their Ship, without any Clothes on; but having reached the *Porpoise*, Mr. Fowler had ordered them some Lieutenant's uniforms. Similar assistance had also been given to the Crew of the *Porpoise*. They who had saved Great Coats, or Blankets, sharing with those who had none, they all laid themselves down to sleep, with some little Comfort; and except a few of the *Cato's* Men, who were bruised on the Reef, no complaint was heard upon the Bank.

The three Boats of the *Porpoise* were hauled up at Night under the lee-side of the Bank; but the small Boat not having been well secured, was found to have been carried away by the Tide.

On the 19th of August, in the Morning; as there was no hope of saving the *Porpoise*, the Tide at that time flowing in and out of her; I thought proper to do away my being a Passenger, and took the Command of the whole Party. I divided the *Cato's* people who had saved nothing, amongst the Crew of the *Porpoise*; quartering them in the Messes, in the proportion of one to three; and

then Lieutenant *Fowler*, with a large working Party in two Cutters, went off to the Ship. The *Cato* had gone to pieces during the Night, and one of her Quarters had floated in upon the Reef; but nothing of her Cargo or Stores remained with it.

During this, and the following Day, the Wind continued to blow fresh from the S.E., and the *Bridgewater* not coming in sight, it was supposed that Captain *Palmer* was beating to Windward, and waiting for finer weather, to relieve the unfortunate people with more safety to himself: But the 21st and 22d being fine days, with moderate Winds, and still no appearance of the Ship, it made them almost give up hopes of seeing her any more.

During the four days above mentioned, they continued to work hard on board the Wreck, and got much Provision, Water, Sails, and many other Stores upon the Bank: all hopes of seeing the *Bridgewater* having then vanished, I called together the principal Officers to consult upon the Steps proper to be taken, for transporting the two Ships' Crews and Passengers to some frequented Spot. The Plan that met with general approbation was as follows:

First: The largest Cutter to have a light hatch Deck laid over her, and Captain *Flinders*, and Mr. *Park* Commander of the *Cato*, to proceed in her to *Port Jackson*; and either procure from his

Excellency the Governor, sufficient colonial Vessels to carry every body back to *Port Jackson*; or otherwise to hire a Ship, either for that purpose, or to carry them on to *India*, whence a Passage might easily be procured to *Europe*.

Secondly: but lest an accident should happen to this Cutter, a small Vessel, sufficient to carry all but one boat's Crew, shall be immediately laid down by the Carpenters; to be built with what was, and may yet be saved from the Wreck: which Vessel shall in two Months proceed to *Port Jackson*, or so soon after as she shall be ready.

Thirdly: the small Cutter, Captain *Flinders* proposes to remain with the Stores for a few weeks longer, if the Provisions admit of it; and then for her also to go to *Port Jackson*, if no Colonial or other Vessel should arrive before that time.

Fourthly: on consulting with the Carpenter of the *Investigator* about the possibility of building such a Vessel, and the time it might require; he gave it as his opinion, that two Boats, sufficient to carry the people, would be sooner built; and perhaps answer the purpose as well: And this seeming to be the general Opinion, it was adopted by the Commander.

By the evening of the 23d, the whole of the Water, and almost the whole of the Provisions, were landed upon the Bank; and our Stock was now found to consist of the

following quantities, and proportion, for ninety-four Men, at full allowance :

Biscuit	920 lb.	} 83 Days.
Flour	6944 do.	
Beef in four pound pieces, 1776 pieces.	} 94 Days.	
Pork in two pound ditto, .. 592 do.		
Pease	45 bushels	107 Days.
Oatmeal	30 ditto	48 Days.
Rice	1225 pounds	114 Days.
Sugar	370 ditto	} 84 Days.
Molasses	125 ditto	
Spirits	225 gallons	} 49 Days.
Wine (Madeira)	113 ditto	
Porter (from private stock)	60 ditto	
Water	5650 gallons,	120 Days,

at $\frac{1}{2}$ a gallon per Day.

With some sour Krout, Essence of Malt, Vinegar, and Salt.

The other *Stores* consisted of a new suit of Sails, some whole, and broken Spars, iron work, the Armourer's Forge, a Kedge Anchor and Hawser Rope, Junk Canvas, some Twine, and other small Stores; and four half Barrels of Powder, two Swivels, and several Muskets and Pistols, with Ball and Flints. Until the 25th, we were employed in fitting up the Cutter, which was now called the *Hope*, and in still adding to our Stock upon the Bank: for although the Sea had much shaken the Ship, since the Holds were cleared; she

still stood, and we hoped would keep together, at least until the next Spring Tides.

At Lieutenant *Fowler's* request, I ordered, that he should remain with the Stores, until the last Boat ; and that Lieutenant *Flinders*, and Mr. *John Aikin*, the Master of the *Investigator*, should take charge of the two large Boats, with a Master's Mate in each, capable of conducting them to *Port Jackson*: should illness, or any accident happen to the two Officers.

On Friday, the 26th of *August*, in the Morning, myself and my companions embarked in the Cutter, to the number of fourteen, with three Weeks' Provisions. With minds full of Hope, mixed with Anxiety, we returned the three Cheers given by our Messmates on the Bank ; who immediately hauled down the Ensign which had been hitherto hoisted with the Union downwards, as a Signal of distress, and now hoisted the Union in the upper canton.

(III.) *Lieutenant FOWLER's Account of the Wreck, extracted from his Journal*.*

Thursday *August* 18, 1803, at noon, latitude

* As this account is short, and gives additional light and interest to Captain *Flinders's* Report, I availed myself of Lieut. *Fowler's* permission to insert it : though it necessarily contains repetitions. The same Scene, under some points of view, will always appear different to every Spectator.

23° 23', longitude 155° 40': Fresh breezes and cloudy. At sixteen minutes past ~~two~~, on the *Cato's* making the Signal for seeing Land, we hauled up at the request of Captain *Flinders*, for a dry Sand Bank, bearing S.W. by W., having made the Signal for the Ships to continue their Course, although we acted otherwise. At *three* hove to, and found no bottom at 80 fathoms; the Bank then bearing S.S.E. distant five or six miles. Made all sail for the *Bridgewater*, and *Cato*, and came up with them at dusk: when we threw out the signal to run under an easy working sail during the Night. Double reefed the Top-sails, and placed a Warrant Officer on the Forecastle to look out. At *eight* hove the Ship in the Wind, and found no bottom at 35 fathoms: fresh breezes and cloudy weather.

At *nine* hauled the Fore-sail up, the Ships being a long way astern. At thirty minutes past nine, Breakers were seen a-head, and on both Bows; Mr. *Aikin* acting Master of the *Investigator*, then having the Watch. On hearing them put the Helm a lee, I ran upon Deck; by which time the Ship came up nearly head to Wind, and, not staying, paid off again; struck upon a Coral Reef, and coming broadside to, the Fore-mast soon went.

Not being able to get a Gun fired, through the confusion that took place, and the Breakers flying over us; many lighted pieces of paper were shown to warn the other Ships, which had taken different

Tacks, and in crossing each other would have touched, if the *Cato* had not kept away: from that, and missing Stays when she tried to tack, she struck a little to the N.E. of us, and I soon afterwards saw her Foremast go. The *Bridgewater* fortunately stayed, cleared the Reef, and stood to the Southward.

When our flurry had a little subsided, the Gig and small Cutter were got out: the latter was stove, and filled. Our only hopes were now upon the *Bridgewater* sending Boats to our assistance in the Morning; not having the smallest prospect of saving the Ship, being reported bilged, and nearly full of Water. Captain *Flinders* shortly afterwards communicated his intentions to me, of taking the Gig with his Charts and Papers, relative to the *Investigator's* Voyage, and trying if it were possible to reach the *Bridgewater*: her Lights were at this time, about ten o'clock, distinctly seen.

Soon after Captain *Flinders* had gone, some Men were ordered into the small Cutter, her leaks being stopped, and remained under the lee of the Ship, out of the way of the Breakers, and the Main-mast; intending to cut it immediately away to ease the Ship, as she was now striking very hard: which was executed soon after the Mizzen-mast was gone. From the lee Tide, and heavy Surf, the Cutter was not able to reach the Ship until the Morning.

During the Night, we were employed in clearing away as much of the Wreck as was possible; whilst a Party, under the Boatswain's Mate, were assisting in making a Raft, under which the largest Cutter was stowed, which we found it impossible to get out, without taking away the Stanchions and moving Beams, that would have weakened us a Midships.

Between the time we got on Shore, and two o'clock in the Morning, Lights were visible from the *Bridgewater*; after that none were seen. But we burnt two or three Blue Lights every half hour, until day break. Between twelve and one, we found the Breakers less violent: we then discerned the Coral by the help of our Blue Lights, and found the Tide making strong ebb. It was low Water about half past one, having only three feet a few yards from the Ship: for several of our People, by the help of the Main-mast, got upon the Coral, before the dreadful darkness of the Night had dispersed.

Our situation was now less alarming, as we had no doubt of the *Bridgewater's* standing in, and sending Boats to our assistance, in the Morning. However, in order to be prepared for the next flood, we still kept working at the Raft, which was completed about four o'clock: it consisted of spare Top-masts, Top-sail Yards, and a number of smaller Spars lashed well together; and many

Lanyards for the people to hold on by, in going through the Breakers. It was sufficiently large to contain us all; for we did not expect the Ship to keep together until day light.

The Day broke about six o'clock: when we perceived the two Boats, that left the Ship in the Night, rowing towards us. Captain *Flinders* got on board by means of the fallen Masts, and informed us, that he had been aground on the Reef, most part of the Night, together with the small Cutter. A Sandy Key was now seen about three quarters of a Mile, on our lee quarter; and it was thought advisable, the Weather being more moderate, to get all that we could a Shore, of our Stores and Provisions. We therefore immediately cleared the Raft away, in order to get out the large Cutter. Captain *Flinders* went ashore with a few hands, to get the Stores and provision Casks secured, as the Tide carried them close by the Bank; and at the same Time to make Signals to the *Bridgewater*, now in sight, standing in upon the larboard Tack. Her Courses, if not her Hull, were visible from the *Porpoise*: when, at about nine o'clock, we saw her go off on the other Tack!

All that we now had for it, under Providence, was to keep briskly at work, in getting Provisions and Water upon the Bank. Two Boats remained in the Wake of the *Cato's* Wreck, to save those who swam through the Breakers: she being nearly

to pieces, except the Larboard Bow, where the People held on during most of the Night. Unfortunately when she struck, she heeled to windward, by which means her Decks were soon torn up, and the Ship filled with Water: whereas the *Porpoise* heeled in so, that no Water of consequence was in her. Had both Ships suffered equally, God only knows what would have become of us, should any have survived to reach a desolate and barren Sand Bank. At low Water we found our Ship had bilged under the Larboard Main and Mizzen Chains. After Noon, the Master of the *Cato*, and most of his People, got upon the Reef; being all accounted for, except one Man, and two Boys, who must have perished in attempting to gain the Reef. This Flood drove the *Porpoise* higher upon the Reef, and gave us a better prospect of saving the remainder of our Stores and Provisions.

(IV.) *Additional Remarks communicated by Mr. William Westall.*

WE were all assembled in the Cabin, when I suddenly heard the Crew in great confusion, and hurrying on Deck, beheld Breakers on our Larboard Bow. The Coral Reef showed itself in a long line of Foam, seen indistinctly through the Gloom of the approaching Night.

When the Ship struck, one general Groan resounded throughout, for not a possibility appeared that any one could be saved. The Night was unusually dark, and for those Latitudes remarkably so. *Come, my Lads!* said Lieutenant *Fowler*, whose accustomed calmness and serenity experienced no abatement, *I have weathered worse Nights than this: Come!* put a good face upon it. *Cut away the mizen Shrouds and Stays!*—The Main-mast not going, he then ordered it to be cut down, in order to ease the Ship.

During this dreadful Scene, after the first confusion had subsided, all was coolness, and prompt Obedience: nor did the smallest disposition for drunkenness, or plunder, appear amongst the Crew. It was then that the superiority of British Seamen, and their animated reliance upon Providence, was impressed on my mind in a manner that can never be effaced. Many of them, though drenched with the Sea, and exhausted with Fatigue, would only accept with moderation the Spirits served out to recruit their strength.

For about a quarter of an Hour after the Ship struck, it was doubtful whether we should be burnt, or drowned; for a Candle which had been left in the Gun Room, had set some Curtains on fire, and the flame quickly increasing, was rapidly gaining ground. Amidst this double death, if I may use the expression, immediate precautions were

adopted, and with success. The whole of my attention was then divided, between many an anxious glance after the Lights of the *Bridgewater*, and then listening, with dread of the Ship's parting, to every crash I heard. The Crew laboured incessantly; and what is hardly credible, at least to Landsmen, after our men had done all they could, many of them had the resolution to go to sleep, and that soundly, in the gaping wreck of their Vessel. Their example was contagious: for after some time, having jammed myself into a secure place, I also was rocked by the Tempest into forgetfulness.

As the Day broke, the horrid situation of the *Cato*, without the Surf, was disclosed to the Crew of the *Porpoise*: when our Men, who had hitherto borne all their sufferings with firmness, were now overcome with apprehension for the fate of the other Crew, and burst into Tears: whilst they, poor wretches, rejoiced to find, that we were so much better off than themselves, nobly gave us three distinct Cheers! There was an awful sublimity in this act of Heroism which I cannot describe. I watched their Fate with peculiar solicitude: every Sea that broke over the Wreck of the poor *Cato*, seemed to be their grave; and, to my agitated mind, their numbers appeared gradually to diminish.

One Man, more resolute than the rest, after con-

tinued exertions, and being overwhelmed repeatedly by the Waves, at length reached a part of the Reef, that was formed between the Coral Breakers and the Sand Bank; and with faltering steps, naked, and bleeding, gained the Wreck of the *Porpoise*, within the Surf. Great God! with what sensations did I behold him immediately extend his hands towards Heaven, and with uplifted eyes pour forth the fervent piety of a Shipwrecked Mariner. We immediately procured him refreshments, and covering: but it was many minutes before he could inform us, that after Mr. *Park* had made two fruitless attempts to get through the Surf, this Seaman, who was reckoned the best swimmer on board the *Cato*, had determined to perish, or surmount the threatening obstacles: yet he declared it to be his firm opinion, that few, or none of his Shipmates could escape. However, towards Noon, the Surf abated; and, with the exception of three, as mentioned in Lieutenant *Fowler's* account, the Crew of the *Cato* left their perilous situation, and received support from the stores of the *Porpoise*.

When our whole Company had assembled on the Sand Bank, Captain *Flinders* walked up to a Fire, which the Crew of the *Porpoise* had made, to warm the *Cato's* people, who had been dreadfully bruised in swimming through the Surf; and asked the Carpenter, where he had procured his Fire-Wood? Mr. *Mart* informed him, that it con-

sisted of a part of the Stern Post of a Ship, which must have been nearly the size of a Frigate, and from every appearance, had remained there a considerable time. Few Ships of the size of this Stern-Post have ever been in those Seas, except the Ships under the command of *Mons. de la Perouse*: and besides, if we refer to the conclusion of that Navigator's last Letter from *New South Wales*, we shall find, that his intended track would probably carry him towards the Reef, on which the above remains of a Wreck were found. It was therefore our general opinion, that we were cast away on the very same Bank, upon which poor *Perouse* had perished.

The translator of *d'Entrecasteaux's Voyage* in search of *Perouse*, inserts in the * preface, the last letter written by that Navigator to the Marshall *de Castries*, then Minister of the Marine, dated *Botany Bay*, 7th February, 1788. The substance of it is exactly similar to those dated from *Avatscha*, † Sept. 7, and Sept. 21, 1787, to Mons. *Fleurieu*, and the same Minister.

“ I shall ‡ again make a run to the *Friendly Islands*, and I shall strictly perform every thing that has been enjoined me by my Instructions, in regard to the South part of *New Caledonia*, *Mendana's*

* Printed for Debrett, 8vo. (Vol. i. page 23.)

† Printed for Johnson, 8vo. (Vol. iii. page 395 and 364.)

‡ *Perouse* sailed from *Botany Bay* on the 15th of March, 1788, (ibid. Vol. page 414.)

Island of Santa Cruz, the southern Coast of Surville's *Terre des Arsacides*, and the land called by Bougainville, *La Louisiade*; and endeavour to ascertain whether this last makes a part of *New Guinea*, or is separated from it. Towards the end of *July*, 1788, I shall pass between *New Guinea* and *New Holland*, by a different channel than Endeavour Strait, provided such an one exist. During the month of *September*, and a part of *October*, I shall visit the *Gulf of Carpentaria* and all the west Coast of *New Holland*, as far as *Van Diemen's Land*; but yet in such a manner, that it may be possible for me, *to get to the Northward, in time to arrive at the Isle of France in the beginning of December*, 1788."

(V.) *Proceedings of the Crews of the Porpoise, and Cato, on the Sand Bank, chiefly from Lieutenant FOWLER's Journal.*

(August 19—October 11.)

(*Friday, August 19.*) Fresh breezes from the S.E. and cloudy weather. At day-break the hands were turned up, and I went on board the *Porpoise*, with a large party, to secure her stores. By the Evening, we landed on the Sand Bank three tons of Water, six hogsheads of Peas, one ditto of Spirits, one of Wine, one tierce of Beef, six hogsheads of Flour, two of Rice, two barrels

of Oatmeal, one half hogshead of Sugar, one barrel of Pork, eight Sheep, as many Pigs, and a few Fowls of private Stock. At High Water we had strong Winds, and squally; with an heavy surf breaking in upon the Wreck. I now found that the Ship, which had drifted considerably higher on the Reef, had given way in almost every part: the floor timbers were mostly broken, and much of her larboard side stove in.

Captain *Flinders* took the command. The people were also employed in forming themselves into different Messes, and in drying their clothes, and in the Evening they retired to rest round the Fires, as we had not yet been able to form our Tents. The two Cutters and the Gig were hauled up upon the Bank; and a petty Officer and Centinels placed to look after the Fires. Nothing seen of the *Bridgewater* this day.

We were employed in a similar manner the next day: the Weather still continued cloudy, with much Wind. Besides a considerable quantity of Stores, we now got on Shore, if Shore it might be called, some Spars, Sails, and Rigging. They who had remained on the Bank, prepared our store Tents, with some place of shelter, where we could swing our Cots. We also got a Top-sail Yard from the Wreck, for a Flag Staff, and hoisted the Insign Union downwards, in case the *Bridgewater* should beave in sight.

On *Monday* the 21st of *August*, the weather became more moderate : the Thermometer was at 84. We continued at work in getting out Stores from the Wreck ; but could only do this at low water : for at Flood the Tide flowed into the Ship.

A large party went off at day-break, on the 22d, to the Wreck, and procured a quantity of Iron Work, and the Armourer's Forge ; two Hawsers, a few small Coils of Rope, and several casks of Water ; and in the Evening Captain *Flin-*
ders held a Consultation ; the particulars of which have been already mentioned. On the 23d we punished a Seaman at the Flag-Staff with a dozen lashes, for getting drunk, whilst on board the Wreck. The Carpenters began to work on the Cutter, in fixing a slight hatch Deck upon her : and the people on the Bank were employed in making Store Tents, and stowing away Provisions and Water. A Centinel was placed over each of them.

The fine weather still continued, on the *twenty-fourth*, with light airs ; and in the course of the day an whole Suit of Sails, and the Coppers, were landed from the Wreck. We now became more settled, and for persons in our situation, tolerably sheltered from the weather, except when it rained hard ; but use soon reconciled us to damp Sheets. I wished to preserve as many of the Sails as I could ; and was therefore obliged to turn a deaf ear to

numerous requests for Canvas. At noon, Captain *Flinders* went in the Cutter to sound, in order to find Anchorage for Vessels to the Northward of the Reef; and returned about four o'clock, having found good Anchorage at the distance of one mile; the Soundings from 15 to 22 Fathoms, sandy bottom. He also examined a narrow Channel about two miles in breadth, a little to the Eastward of the Wrecks, and found it perfectly safe for Vessels of any size, having from nine to ten Fathoms through it.

During the *twenty-fifth*, the Wind was Northerly, with fine weather; and we still had some hands employed in conveying various small stores from the Wreck. The Carpenters had nearly finished the Cutter by Sun-set on the 26th; so we got water, and provisions in her, for three weeks, and gave her the name of *THE HOPE*.—As Captain *Flinders* intended to sail the next day, I acquainted him with my intention of staying on the Bank, until the last Boat; and I received a written order from him to victual the *Cato's* People at the same proportion as our own.

On *August 27*, soon after eight o'clock in the morning, the *Hope* was launched. I need not dwell on our feelings: we took an affectionate leave of each other, and hoped for the best. The weather was fair, with light Winds from N. N. W. to W. Captain *Flinders*, accompanied by Mr. *Park*, and

twelve Men, entered the Boat, and shoved off, amidst our cheers for their success ; standing to the S.W. as their intention was to fall in with the Land about *Sandy Cape* in S. latitude $24^{\circ} 42'$, the Southern point of *Hervey's Bay*. I now made a rough calculation of our Provisions, and Water, and put the whole of the Officers, and People, on an allowance, with half a gallon per day.

Our Society was now reduced from ninety-four to eighty-two Men: the dependence which they placed in me, and the obedient contented disposition which they displayed, rendered my duty easy and pleasant. The great thing was to have a constant object on which to fix their attention ; and this was effectually accomplished by the construction of our two Boats. And I soon perceived that the skill of the Carpenter, Mr. *Mart*, would, with the assistance of Providence, save the Crew, even if no Ship should come to our relief. In the afternoon we hauled our small Cutter up, and began to repair her. Some assisted the Armourer in getting up his Forge, and others, the Sawyers in sinking a Pit. After Breakfast I sent the Cutter to the *Cato's Wreck*, to procure two Planks for Keels for our Shipwright ; and having consulted with Mr. *Mart*, we agreed, that our Vessels should be laid down for 35 feet Keels, and be properly decked ; one Schooner, and the other Sloop rigged.

We anxiously watched the Weather, as the pre-

servation of our Shipmates in the Hope so much depended upon it. During the preceding night the Wind freshened, with cloudy weather ; but towards day-break, on the *twenty-eighth*, it became moderate and fine. Our Sawyers went to work with spirit on the Keel of our new Boat. A party were still employed on the Wreck, and brought, at Noon, the Stumps of the Fore and Mizen Masts, to saw into Plank. I punished a Seaman with 28 lashes for stealing Lime Juice out of the store tent. Mustered the People, and found them clean.

The *twenty-ninth* was a busy day, and the weather cloudy. Landed several useful Spars, and two Casks of Coals for the Armourer, from the Wreck. Carpenters employed in laying down the Keel of the Schooner. Sawyers, sawing out Plank. Armourers, making Nails. When the Cutter returned from the Wreck, I sent her to fish just without the North side of the Reef.

On the *thirtieth*, I served out Fish Hooks and Lines to the people ; and the Cutter, with a Man from each mess, went out to procure a supply. They brought us home in the evening twenty-six fine Snappers ; so that, with some Madeira, which we happened to have, our Repast was such as could not be expected on a Sand Bank, in the wide Pacific Ocean : Were I a Poet, I would describe the envy with which the Sea Gods must have beheld our invasion of their Domain. On these oc-

casions our Companions in the *Bridgewater* did not receive our Blessings.

On the 31st of *August* we had fresh Breezes and cloudy weather; and we trusted that before this, our Shipmates in the *HOPE* had reached their place of destination. A party, with an officer, went off the Reef to get the *Cato's* larboard Bow on the bank at Flood, in order to cut out Timbers for the Boat's moulds. The Armourers and Sawyers went on with spirit. The Coopers were busy in making small Caks for Stowage. After Breakfast I took the Cutter with an intention of reaching a little Island, which, on our landing, had been seen from the Bank, bearing E.N.E. But owing to the strong Tide, and confused Sea between the patches of Breakers, I was obliged to return, and wait for more favourable weather.

The month of *September* began with strong Winds, and thick Clouds, and during the day we had heavy Rain. Our people were chiefly employed in assisting the Artificers, and repairing the Sails torn by the Coral. The badness of the Weather called forth our different amusements: Pens and Ink, writing paper, and what few Books we had saved, were in great request. A View of our desolate abode was taken by Mr. * *Westall*; and during the evening the Drum and Fife occasionally cheered our spirits.

* Whence one, on a reduced Scale, was made by that Gentleman for the Frontispiece.

Both Wind and Rain continued during the next day: we spread several sails, and saved a Cask or two; but found it brackish, from the Sails having remained so long in the salt water. The Cutter was sent out with a fishing party. It was high water at fifty minutes past eight, in the morning. The rise of the Tide was six feet, two inches; and several of our Tents were obliged to be struck, as the water flowed into them.

The Weather became clearer on the 3d of September, with a strong breeze, from E. N. E. to E. by S. Several useful Stores were brought from the Wreck; and on the 4th, I sent the Cutter to the *Porpoise*, and among other articles landed some Powder, Muskets, Pistols, and Cutlasses, and a number of Boatswains' Blocks.—A. M. mustered all the People with their Clothes.

During the *fifth*, we again visited the Wreck, and landed several Blocks of different sizes. Our Armourer was this day taken ill of a Fever, which considerably retarded our Ship-building. The Drummer, having gone to sleep, while Centinel over the Store Tent, was punished with six lashes. On the *sixth* we made a small Raft, and sent it off to the Wreck, and by the Evening we landed one 12lb. Carronade, and Slide, with several Shot. Though the weather was moderate, we had heavy Rain, and by Noon we procured three Ton from

amongst the Rocks, and lodged it carefully in our Store Tent.

Often, when I cast an anxious look on the wide expanse of OCEAN that stretched around us, I could not help indulging an hope, that some Vessel might appear in the Offing. But it was always one dreadful Blank. We had all our occasional moments of dejection: the extraordinary skill of Mr. *Mart*, and our expectation of Captain *Flinders*' return, soon dispersed them. On the *seventh*, I sent off a loose Raft of Casks for the remainder of the Carronades; and stopped the allowance of Water, as the Men had saved enough to last them for some Days. Before Noon, as the Raft was on its return, one of the Guns slipped off; we therefore anchored it near the Bank, until next low Water. The Weather now cleared up. Several sets of distances gave the Longitude $155^{\circ} 38'$ East of Greenwich.

By the *eighth* we had all the Carronade Slides and Breechings on Shore; and raised the Gun that had sunk. On the *ninth*, we got all our Guns on the Bank. From this Day to the *eleventh*, we had a good deal of Rain and Wind; which becoming more moderate on the *twelfth*, though still attended with drizzling Showers, I took the Cutter after Breakfast, and went off to our newly discovered Island, with a moderate breeze at

E. N. E. and arrived there at Noon. The distance I computed to be from eight to ten miles. We kept along the North side of several Patches of Breakers, by which the Island is surrounded, excepting a very small opening on its Western side, sufficient to admit a Boat, or small Vessel. It may be about three quarters of a mile in circumference; the Breakers extend round it about one mile. We turned two fine Turtle, weighing each about 2 Cwt, which induced me to stay until the Morning. The surface of the Island was covered with a coarse kind of Grass, and innumerable Sea Birds. We found some fresh Water, but not good. On the highest part we had an extensive view all round, and could not perceive any Reefs, or Shoal Water, either to the Eastward or Northward.

After day light I returned to our Bank, not having seen a Turtle on the Beach during all the Night. We loaded the Boats with Eggs, and with the Sea Birds that had been knocked down by the Crew. By eight o'clock I rejoined my Companions; and served out the Turtle, the Birds, and their Eggs, to the Officers and People. And a most delicious repast we had. At noon sent the Cutter to the Wreck for the remainder of the Shot.

The next Day, *September fourteenth*, I sent off Lieutenant *Flinders* to *Foxel Island*, for some

more Turtle and Birds. The Cutter returned before Noon with two large Turtle; the female full of Eggs, and weighing 459lbs. We counted out 1938 Eggs, and served them out with the Turtle, to the Officers and People. On the *sixteenth*, we served out Turtle Soup, and continued to the Men half allowance of Spirits.

On the 18th we fired our first Evening Gun, as a Signal to any Vessel that might be approaching in the Offing, during the Night, to our relief. The time allowed for Captain *Blinders'* return had nearly expired, and we began to be uneasy concerning him. Before Noon, the next Day, I sent off the Master, Mr. *Aikin*, and a Party to the Island, victualled for a week, to turn Turtle. The Evening brought us light breezes with fine pleasant Weather; and the Cutter came back with a couple of Turtle, which we served out as before. Our Sail Makers, and Carpenters, were now hard at work in finishing the Schooner.

The Party returned from *Foxel Island*, at Sun Set, on the *twenty-sixth*, not having seen a Turtle on Shore during their stay. During the afternoon of the 28th, some of our People went over to the Reef at low Water to gather Shell Fish. We began to be very low about the safety of the *Hope*; and almost to despair of ever seeing them again. It was now thirty-two Days since our Shipmates had left us.

We had a strong Breeze, and squally Weather during the afternoon of *October the second*; and no signs of any Vessel approaching us. About Noon, the next day, it got more moderate, with flying Showers. As our Coals were nearly expended, I employed the Men in breaking up the Wreck of the *Cato*, that it might be burnt into Charcoal for the Armourer. Soon after Day light, on the *fifth*, we launched our little Schooner, on which our hopes now principally depended, and named her the *Resource*. Her dimensions were, length of Keel 35 feet; Over all 37 feet; extreme breadth 12 feet, 2 inches; depth of Hold 5 feet, draft of Water forward, 15 inches; Aft, 22 inches, nearly 20 Tons in measurement. After the Launch, which reflected the greatest honour on the skill of Mr. *Mart*, who had never attempted any thing of the kind before; we hauled her off to an anchor, and employed some of the people in rigging her, and the Carpenters in making her Topmasts, Bowsprit, and Main-Boom.

On the Morning of the *seventh*, we served out Sweet Wort, and laid down the Keel of our other Vessel, of the same dimensions with the Schooner; and, in the afternoon, we loaded the latter with wood to carry over to *Fowl Island*, to burn into Charcoal for the Armourer. On the *eighth*, at day break, the Schooner got under weigh in Company with the Cutter, with the Wind

at E. N. E.—About Noon, to our great and unspeakable Joy, we discovered a square rigged Vessel, and two smaller ones, standing towards us, round the North point of the Island. The whole Sand Bank was in an uproar! I immediately sent the small Cutter with the news to *Fowl Island*, and remained in the Schooner working up to the strange Vessels. At half past two, I got on board the Ship *ROLLA*, *Robert Cummings*, Master, and found the smaller Vessels were the *Cumberland*, and *Francis*, colonial Schooners; the former of which had Captain *Flinders* on board.

As the Master of the *Rolla* was not acquainted with this Navigation, I remained on board, and brought his Ship to an anchor in 22 Fathoms, sandy bottom; distance from the Breakers about one mile. On going ashore I found Captain *Flinders* already there; who informed me, that I had Orders from Governor *King* to embark my People as soon as possible on board the *Rolla*, and proceed in her to *Canton*; where I was to take the earliest opportunity of getting myself, and company, a passage to *England*. Captain *Flinders* also informed me, that he intended to attempt his passage home, by way of *Jones's Straits*. The *Francis* Schooner was to return to *Port Jackson* with what Stores she could carry, and such of the People as might desire their discharge.

By the evening of the *ninth*, most of our People, with their Chests, were on board the *Rolla*. On the *eleventh* we had fine pleasant Weather, and at three in the afternoon, Captain *Flinders* got the *Cumberland* Schooner under weigh, and stood towards *Fowl Island*, lying off and on for the *Rolla*. By Sun-set the Marines and every one else were on board. At seven o'clock in the Morning a light Breeze springing up from the Southward, we weighed anchor, and at a quarter past eight got under sail towards the *Cumberland*. At eleven hove-to; when Captain *Flinders* came on board, and left a Copy of his Charts, together with a duplicate of Governor *King's* Dispatches for the Admiralty. At Noon Captain *Flinders* returned to the *Cumberland*; and after cheering, we parted Company, and took our departure from *Fowl Island*, then bearing S. by W. ten or twelve miles. It being in Latitude $22^{\circ} 10'$ and Longitude $155^{\circ} 44'$ East.

(VI.) *The Bridgewater, on her arrival in India, published the following report in the Gazette, dated MADRASS, Dec. 31, 1803. Providentially, an Account from Captain Flinders reached Europe first.*

By the *Bridgewater*, Captain *Palmer*, lately arrived at *Mangalore*, we learn the following unfortunate Occurrence:—

While the *Bridgewater* was lying at *Botany*

Bay, H. M. Ship *Investigator*, which had been employed on a Voyage of Discovery, arrived; and was obliged, from her bad state, to be condemned: the Captain and Crew were put on board the Transports, *Porpoise* and *Cato*, for the purpose of proceeding to *Europe*.

The *Porpoise*, *Cato*, and *Bridgewater*, sailed in Company from *Port Jackson*, and on the 18th of August, the two former were wrecked; and we are concerned to add, that the whole of their Crews perished.

(VII.) The following is an extract from the Narrative of an Officer of the *Bridgewater*, giving an account of the melancholy Catastrophe, and describing the situation of the Shoal.

“ The *Cato* was standing right on us, whilst wearing; and luffing up close under our Bow, we called to her to put her Helm a Starboard, fearing she would be on board of us; in which case we must both inevitably have been on Shore; she did so, and luffed up close under our Stern.

“ The Ship's head now drew off the Reef; and in a few minutes, we happily cleared the Surf, and perceived the Ship drawing fast from a fate so recently appearing unavoidable. The Officers were assembled, and Captain *Palmer* spoke to us as follows: “ *Do you think it prudent, considering circumstances; the Darkness of the Night, the Swell, the heavy Surf, (for so the Reef was) with*

*the uncertainty of our safety; to attempt sending, or giving the Porpoise any assistance? or would it not be more prudent, to stand off and on, and be ready to give every assistance in the * Morning?*”—The latter was thought most advisable, as the former could only have terminated in the sacrifice of Officer, Boat, and Crew.—We stood off and on during the Night, which was tempestuous, with frequent and violent Squalls of Rain and Wind. In the Morning, at day-light, we saw the *Porpoise* was nearly buried in the Surf, her Bow and Bowsprit only showing themselves; and we had the melancholy sight of the *Cato*, having shared the same fate: this was augmented by the impossibility, from the violence of the weather, of rendering them any Assistance. We lay between the Reefs till the following day; when, lying-to, we again made the Reef, and could see little, or nothing, of the Wreck of the *Porpoise* remaining; and the *Cato*, with her bottom exposed to a tremendous Surf: not a Soul out of the two Ships was it in our power to save.

“ This Shoal is in extent about four or five miles, stretching N.N.W. and S.S.E. in longitude $155^{\circ} 41'$ East, and South latitude $22^{\circ} 20'$. We pas-

* Why this was not more effectually done, does not appear. But, according to my information, a young Midshipman immediately stepped forward, and begged, that Captain *Palmer* would allow him to collect Volunteers, that he might go to the assistance of his Countrymen.

sed, after this, through *Shortlands*, and *Dampier's* Straits. The *Bridgewater* afterwards proceeded to *Batavia* for the purpose of obtaining refreshments; and during her stay there, intelligence was received of the renewal of hostilities: in consequence, Captain *Palmer* took advantage of a land Wind, and slipped his Cable in the Night."

APPENDIX.

VIEW OF THE DIFFERENT METHODS THAT HAVE BEEN SUGGESTED TO ASSIST THE CREWS OF VESSELS IN DISTRESS.

(I.) BAMBOROUGH CASTLE.

MANY of my readers, says Mr. * Bowles, may be ignorant that this very ancient Castle, with its extensive Domains, heretofore the property of the family of FORSTERS, whose Heiress married Lord CREWE, Bishop of Durham; is appropriated by the Will of that pious Prelate to many benevolent purposes; particularly that of ministring instant relief to such shipwrecked Mariners as may happen to be cast on this dangerous Coast; for whose preservation, and that of their Vessels, every possible assistance is contrived, and is at all times ready. The whole Estate is vested in the hands of Trustees; one of whom, Dr. Sharp, Archdeacon of *Northumberland*, with an active zeal, well suited to the nature of the humane Institution, makes this Castle his chief residence, attending with unwearied diligence to the proper application of the Charity.

“ Ye holy Tow’rs that shade the Wave-worn Steep,
 Long may ye rear your aged brows sublime,
 Though, hurrying silent by, relentless Time
 A-sail you, and the winter Whirlwind’s sweep!

* From Sonnets written chiefly on Picturesque Spots during a Tour.

For far from blazing Grandeur's crouded Halls,
 Here CHARITY hath fix'd her chosen Seat,
 Oft listening tearful when the wild Winds beat
 With hollow bodings round your ancient walls ;
 And PRY, at the dark and stormy hour
 Of Midnight, when the Moon is hid on high,
 Keeps her lone Watch upon the topmost Tow'r,
 And turns her Ear to each expiring Cry ;
 Blest if her Aid some fainting Wretch might save,
 And snatch him cold and speechless from the Wave.*

*An Account of the SIGNALS made use of at BAMBO-
 ROUGH CASTLE, in the County of Northumberland, in
 case Ships, or Vessels, are perceived in Distress, and of the
 charitable Institutions established there for their Assist-
 ance and Relief: first published by the direction of the
 Trustees of Nathaniel late Lord Cræc, with the appro-
 bation of the Master, Pilots, and Seamen, of the Trinity
 House in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1771.*

SIGNALS.

1. A Gun, a nine pounder, placed at the bottom of the Tower, to be fired as a Signal, in case any Ship, or Vessel, be observed in distress: viz.

Once, when any Ship, or Vessel, is stranded, or wrecked upon the Islands, or any adjacent Rock.

Twice, when any Ship, or Vessel, is stranded, or wrecked behind the Castle, or to the Northward of it.

Thrice, when any Ship, or Vessel, is stranded, or wrecked to the Southward of the Castle ; in order that the Custom-House Officers, and the Tenants, with their Servants, may

hasten to give all possible assistance ; as well as to prevent the Wreck from being plundered.

2. In every great Storm, two Men on horseback are sent from the Castle to patrol along the Coast, from Sun-set to Sun-rise ; that, in case of an accident, one may remain by the Ship, and the other return to alarm the Castle. Whoever brings the first notice of any Ship, or Vessel, being in distress, is entitled to a Premium, in proportion to the distance from the Castle ; and, if between twelve o'clock at Night and three o'clock in the Morning, the Premium to be double.

3. A large Flag is hoisted, when there is any Ship or Vessel seen in distress upon the * *Fern Islands*, or *Staples* ; that the Sufferers may have the satisfaction of knowing their distress is perceived from the Shore, and that relief will be sent them as soon as possible. In case of bad Weather, the Flag will be kept up, a Gun fired Morning and Evening, and a Rocket thrown up every Night from the North Turret, until such time as relief can be sent. These are also Signals to the *Holy Island* Fishermen, who, by the advantage of their situation, can put off for the Islands, at times when no Boat from the Main Land can get over the Breakers. Premiums are given to the first Boats that put off for the Islands, to give their assistance to Ships or Vessels in distress, and Provisions and Liquors are sent in the Boats.

* *Fern*, or *Farn Island*, is situated at the distance of two Miles from *Bamborough Castle*, on the Main, about a Mile in Compass, and is noted for a Fort, and Light-House which has no Fire kept in it : on the North side, and almost contiguous to it, are several smaller Islands.—The *Staples Rocks* lie to the N.E. and *Holy Island* is five Miles to the N.W.

4. A Bell on the South Turret will be rung out in every thick Fog, as a Signal to the Fishing Boats; and a large Swivel, fixed on the East Turret, will be fired every fifteen Minutes, as a Signal to the Ships without the Islands.

5. A large Weather Cock is fixed on the top of the Flag Staff, for the use of the Pilots.

6. A large Speaking Trumpet is provided, to be used when Ships are in Distress near the Shore, or are run aground.

7. An Observatory, or Watch Tower, is made on the East Turret of the Castle, where a Person is to attend every Morning at Day break, during the Winter Season, to look out if any Ships be in Distress.

8. Masters and Commanders of Ships, or Vessels in Distress, are desired to make such Signals as are usually made by People in their melancholy Situation.

ASSISTANCE, STORES, AND PROVISIONS,

Prepared at Bamborough Castle for Seamen, Ships, or Vessels, wrecked, or driven ashore on that Coast, or Neighbourhood.

1. Rooms and Beds are prepared for Seamen, shipwrecked, who will be maintained in the Castle for a Week, or longer, according to circumstances; and during that time be found with all manner of Necessaries.

2. Cellars for Wine, and other Liquors from shipwrecked Vessels; in which they are to be deposited for one Year, in order to be claimed by the proper Owners.

3. A Store-house ready for the reception of wrecked Goods, Cables, Rigging, and Iron. A Book is kept for

entering all kinds of Timber and other wrecked Goods, giving the Marks and Description of each, with the date when they came on Shore.

4. Four pair of Screws, for raising Ships that are stranded, in order to their being repaired. Timber, Blocks, and Tackles, Handspokes, Cables, Ropes, Pumps, and Iron, ready for the use of shipwrecked Vessels. N.B. But, if taken away, to be paid for at prime cost.

5. A pair of Chains, with large Rings, and Swivels, made on purpose for weighing Ships of a thousand tons burthen, that are sunk upon Rocks, or in deep Water. N.B. These Chains are to be lent, gratis, to any Person having occasion for them, within forty or fifty Miles along the Coast, on giving proper security to re-deliver them to the Trustees.

6. Two Mooring Chains, of different lengths, are provided, which may occasionally be joined together, when a greater length is required.

7. Whenever any Dead Bodies are cast on Shore, Coffins, &c. will be provided gratis, and also the Funeral Expences paid.

December the 24th, 1771.

TRINITY HOUSE, NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

We, the Master, &c. of this House, desire the Trustees to make their humane Intentions public.

By Order,

THOMAS ALLBONE, Sec.

** * There is but little doubt, that as these Resolutions of the Trustees become more known, a considerable portion of that charitable Disposition which pervades the Hearts of my Countrymen, will be directed to similar Institutions along*

our Coast : and that such Noblemen, and Men of Fortune, as may have their Castles, or Country Seats, facing the Ocean, will increase their Splendor, by forming an Asylum similar to that established at Bamborough Castle.

(II.) MR. GREATHEAD'S LIFE-BOAT.

THE necessity of the Construction of a Boat, that might convey assistance to Vessels in distress, and live on a raging Sea, was originally suggested by the Subscribers to the News Room, at the Law House, South Shields, in 1789 ; as, from the situation of their Room, they were often the painful Spectators of the destruction of Vessels and their Crews, on the Sand at the South entrance of *Tynemouth Haven*. The Builder, and Inventor, of this most humane and important Object in Navigation, was Mr. *Henry Greathead*, at *South Shields*. And the utility of his Life-Boat was first tried on the *30th of *January*, 1790.

In the twentieth Volume of the Transactions of the Society, instituted in *London* for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, a particular Account, with Engravings, is given of Mr. *Greathead's* Life-Boat.—The Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, to whom Mr. *Greathead's* Petition for a Reward was referred, will be inserted in the Appendix to my next Volume.

Mr. *Thomas Hinderwell*, Ship Owner, of *Scarborough*, enclosed the following Account of the Principle on which Mr. *Greathead's* Life-Boat was built, to Mr. *Charles Taylor*, Secretary to the above-mentioned excellent Society ;

* *Vide* Naval Chronicle, Vol. v, page 515.

who voted the Gold Medal, and fifty Guineas, to the original Inventor.

TO MR. CHARLES TAYLOR.

SIR,

IT is much to be lamented, that in an Age enlightened by Science, such a languid indifference should prevail on many important public occasions; and that the most excellent Inventions should have to combat the force of inveterate prejudice.

How many valuable Discoveries have languished in obscurity! How many useful projects have perished in embryo, deprived of the fostering aid of the Public, and the patronage of influence and authority! In the class of useful Improvements for the diminution of the dangers incident to a maritime Profession, the Life-Boat, invented by Mr. *Greathead*, of Shields, has a claim to a distinguished patronage. And experimental conviction of its great utility in saving the Lives of shipwrecked Seamen, and of its perfect safety in the most agitated Sea, has induced me to advocate the cause with a zeal proportionate to its importance; and it is a consolatory reflection to my own Mind, that my exertions have been successful in the introduction of a Life-Boat in the Port of *Scarborough*; and, I trust, not unprofitable, towards promoting a similar Establishment in other places. The Services which have been recently performed at this Port, by means of the Life-Boat, in contributing to the preservation of the Lives of the *Crews of two Vessels*, more than compensate for every labour. I am far from the Ambition, of aspiring to any honorary testimony on this occasion. Actuated by the purest principle of Philanthropy, my sole object is the benefit of the

Community, and to endeavour, by ardent recommendations, to excite a Spirit of Emulation, in order to introduce the Life-Boat, with its invaluable properties, into more general use. I am induced to submit, with the utmost deference and respect, to the consideration of the Society of Arts, &c. the following description of the Life-Boat, with some miscellaneous Observations. *The construction of the Boat, agreeably to Mr. Greathead's plan, is as follows:—*

The length is thirty feet; the breadth, ten feet; the depth, from the top of the gunwale to the lower part of the keel in midships, three feet three inches; from the gunwale to the platform (*within*) two feet four inches; from the top of the stems (both ends being similar) to the horizontal line of the bottom of the Keel, five feet nine inches. The Keel is a plank of three inches thick, of a proportionate breadth in Midships, narrowing gradually toward the ends, to the breadth of the Stems at the bottom, and forming a great convexity downwards. The Stems are Segments of a Circle, with considerable *Rakes*. The bottom Section, to the Floor-heads, is a curve fore and aft, with the sweep of the Keel. The Floor Timber has a small *Rise* curving from the Keel to the Floor-heads. A bilge-plank is wrought in on each side next the Floor-heads with a double *Rabbit* or Groove, of a similar thickness with the Keel; and, on the outside of this, are fixed two Bilge-trees, corresponding nearly with the level of the Keel. The ends of the bottom Section form that fine kind of entrance observable in the lower part of the Bow of the fishing-boat, called a *Coble*, much used in the North. From this part to the top of the Stem, it is more elliptical, forming a considerable projection. The sides, from the Floor-

heads to the top of the Gunwale, flaunch off on each side, in proportion to about half the breadth of the Floor. The breadth is continued far forward towards the ends, leaving a sufficient length of strait side at the top. The Sheer is regular along the strait side, and more elevated towards the ends. The gunwale, fixed on the outside, is three inches thick. The sides, from the under part of the Gunwale, along the whole length of the regular Sheer, extending twenty-one feet six inches, are cased with *layers* of Cork, to the depth of sixteen inches downward; and the thickness of this casing of Cork being four inches, it projects at the top a little without the Gunwale. The Cork, on the outside, is secured with thin plates or slips of copper, and the Boat is fastened *with copper Nails*. The *Thwarts*, or Seats, are five in number, *double-banked*, consequently the Boat may be rowed with ten oars*. The *Thwarts* are firmly stanchioned. The Side-oars are short† with iron tholes and rope grommets, so that the rower can pull either way. The Boat is steered with an Oar at each end; and the steering Oar is one third longer than the rowing Oar. The Platform placed at the bottom, within the Boat, is horizontal, the length of the Midships, and elevated at the ends, for the convenience of the Steersman, to give him a greater power with the Oar. The internal part of the Boat next the sides, from the under part of the *Thwarts* down to the Platform, is cased with Cork; the whole quantity of which, affixed to the Life-Boat, is nearly seven hundred weight. The Cork

* Five of the Benches are only used, the Boat being generally rowed with ten Oars.

† The short Oar is more manageable in a high Sea than the long Oar, and its stroke is more certain.

indisputably contributes much to the buoyaney of the Boat, is a good defence in going alongside a Vessel, and is of principle use in keeping the Boat in an erect position in the Sea, or rather of giving her a very lively and quick disposition to recover from any sudden *cant*, or *lurch*, which she may receive from the stroke of a heavy Wave. But, exclusive of the Cork, the admirable construction of this Boat gives it a decided pre-eminence. The ends being similar, the Boat can be rowed either way; and this peculiarity of form alleviates her in rising over the waves. The curvature of the Keel, and bottom, facilitates her movement in turning, and contributes to the ease of the Steerage, as a single stroke of the steering Oar has an immediate effect, the Boat moving as it were upon a centre. The fine entrance below is of use in dividing the Waves, when rowing against them; and, combined with the convexity of the bottom, and the elliptical form of the Stem, admits her to rise with wonderful buoyaney in high Sea, and to launch forward with rapidity, without shipping any Water, when a common Boat would be in danger of being filled. The *flaunching*, or spreading form of the Boat, from the Floor-heads to the Gunwale, gives her a considerable *bearing*; and the continuation of the breadth, well forward, is a great support to her in the Sea; and it has been found by experience, that Boats of this construction are the best Sea-Boats for rowing against turbulent waves. The internal shallowness of the Boat, from the Gunwale down to the Platform, the convexity of the form, and the bulk of Cork within, leave a very diminished space for the Water to occupy; so that the Life-Boat, when filled with Water, contains a considerably less quantity than the common Boat, and is in no danger either of sinking or overturning;

It may be presumed, by some, that in cases of high Wind, agitated Sea, and broken Waves, that a Boat of such a bulk could not prevail against them by the force of the Oars; but the Life-Boat, from her peculiar form, may be rowed *ahead*, when the attempt in other Boats would fail. Boats of the common form, adapted for speed, are of course put in motion with a small power, but, for want of buoyancy and bearing, are over-run by the waves and sunk, when impelled against them; and Boats constructed for burthen, meet with too much resistance from the Wind and Sea, when opposed to them, and cannot in such cases be rowed from the Shore to a Ship in distress. An idea has been entertained, that the superior advantages of the Life-Boat are to be ascribed solely to the quantity of Cork affixed. But this is a very erroneous opinion; and, I trust, has been amply refuted by the preceding observations on the supereminent construction of this Boat. It must be admitted, that the application of Cork to common Boats would add to their buoyancy and security; and it might be a useful expedient, if there were a quantity of Cork on board of Ships, to prepare the Boats with, in cases of Shipwreck, as it might be expeditiously done, in a temporary way, by means of *Clamps*, or some other contrivance. The application of Cork to some of the Boats of his Majesty's Ships* might be worthy of consideration; more particularly as an experiment might be made at a little expence, and without inconvenience to the Boats; or may prevent Pleasure-boats from upsetting or sinking.

The Life-Boat is kept in a Boat-house, and placed upon four low wheels, ready to be moved at a moment's notice. These Wheels are convenient in conveying the Boat along

* The Launches.

the Shore to the Sea; but if she had to travel upon ~~them~~ on a rough road, her frame would be exceedingly shaken. Besides, it has been found difficult and troublesome to replace her upon these Wheels, on her return from Sea. Another plan has, therefore, been adopted. Two Wheels of nine feet diameter, with a moveable arched Axis, and a Pole fixed thereto, for a lever, have been constructed. The Boat is suspended near her centre, between the Wheels, under the Axis, toward each extremity of which is an iron Pin, with a Chain attached. When the Pole is elevated perpendicularly, the upper part of the Axis becomes depressed, and the Chains being hooked to *Eye-bolts*, on the inside of the Boat, she is raised with the utmost facility by means of the pole, which is then fastened down to the Stem of the Boat.

The Scarborough Boat is under the direction of a Committee. Twenty-four Fishermen, composing two Crews*, are alternately employed to navigate her. A reward, in cases of Shipwreck, is paid by the Committee to each Man actually engaged in the assistance; and it is expected, that the Vessel receiving assistance should contribute to defray this expence. None have hitherto refused.

It is of importance, that the command of the Boat should be intrusted to some steady experienced person, who is acquainted with the direction of the Tides or Currents, as much Skill may be required in *rising* them to the most advantage, in going to a Ship in distress. It should also be recommended, to keep the *Head* of the Boat to the Sea, as much as circumstances will admit, and to give her an accelerated velocity to meet the Wave. Much caution

* Two Crews are appointed, that there may be a sufficient number ready, in case of any absence.

is necessary in approaching a Wreck, on account of the strong reflux of the Waves, which is sometimes attended with great danger. In a general way, it is safest to go on the *lee* Quarter; but this depends upon the position of the Vessel, and the Master of the Boat should exercise his skill in placing her in the most convenient situation. The Boatmen should practise themselves in the use of the Boat, that they may be the better acquainted with her movements; and they should at all times be strictly obedient to the directions of the Person who is appointed to the command.

The great ingenuity which has been displayed in the construction of the Life-Boat, leaves scarcely any room for improvement: but some have supposed, that a Boat of twenty-five feet in length, with a proportionate breadth, would answer every purpose of a larger one. A Boat of these dimensions would certainly be lighter, and less expensive; but whether she would be equally *safe* and *steady* in a high Sea, I cannot take upon myself to determine.

Mr. *Greathead*, of *South Shields*, the Inventor, undertakes to build these Boats, and to convey them to any Port in the Kingdom. He is a worthy Man, in whom a confidence may be reposed, and will build upon moderate terms of profit.

THOMAS HINDERWELL.

Management of the Life-Boat, from the Boat House to the Sea, and vice-versâ, as practised at Lowestoffe, in Suffolk.

The Life-Boat may be launched from any Beach, when wanted, with as much ease as any other Boat, by proper assistance. The distance from the Boat-house at *Lowestoffe*, to the Shore, is one hundred yards, and the Boat's

Crew can run her down in ten minutes. When the Sea does not tumble in upon the Beach very much, the Boat may be easily launched by laying the Ways as far as possible in the Water, and hauling the Carriage from under her.

When there is a great Sea on the Beach, the Boat must be launched from the Carriage before she comes to the Surf, on Planks laid across, as other Boats are launched; the People standing on the ends to prevent the Sea moving them; then, with the assistance of the Anchor and Cable, (which should be laid out at Sea for the purpose,) the Boat's Crew can draw her over the highest Sea.

Upon the Boat returning to the Shore, two Double-blocks are provided; and, having a short Strop fixed in the Hole, in the end of the Boat next the Sea, the Boat is easily drawn upon the Carriage. The Boat's Crew can run her any distance upon a clear Shore by the Carriage of Mr. Greathead's contrivance.

Mr. Greathead's Account of, and Instructions for the Management of the Life Boat.

South Shields, October 13, 1802.

THE Boats in general of this description are painted white on the outside, this colour more immediately engaging the eye of the Spectator, at her rising from the hollow of the Sea, than any other. The bottom of the Boat is at first varnished (which will take paint afterwards) for the more minute inspection of Purchasers. The Oars, she is equipped with, are made of fir, of the best quality, having found by experience that a rove-ash Oar that will dress clean and light, is too pliant among the Breakers; and when made strong and heavy, from rowing

double banked, the purchase being short, sooner exhausts the Rower, which makes the fir Oar, when made stiff, more preferable.

In the management of the Boat, she requires twelve Men to work her; that is, five Men on each side, rowing double banked, with an Oar slung over an iron thole, with a grommet (as provided), so as to enable the Rower to pull either way; and one Man, at each end, to steer her, and to be ready at the opposite end to take the Steer-oar, when wanted. As, from the construction of the Boat, she is always in a position to be rowed either way, without turning the Boat, when manned, the person who steers her should be well acquainted with the course of the Tides, in order to take every possible advantage: the best method, if the direction will admit of it, is to head the Sea. The Steersman should keep his eye fixed upon the Wave or Breaker, and encourage the Rowers to give way, as the Boat rises to it; being then aided by the force of the Oars, she launches over it with vast rapidity, without shipping any Water. It is necessary to observe, that there is often a strong reflux of Sea, occasioned by the stranded Wrecks, which requires both dispatch and care in the people employed, that the Boat be not damaged. When the Wreck is reached, if the Wind blows to the Land, the Boat will come in Shore without any other effort than steering.

I would strongly recommend practising the Boat; by which means, with experience, the danger will appear less, from the confidence people will have in her from repeated Trials.

HENRY GREATHEAD.

* * * The Sum of 1200*l.* was voted by Parliament to Mr. Greathead for this Invention.



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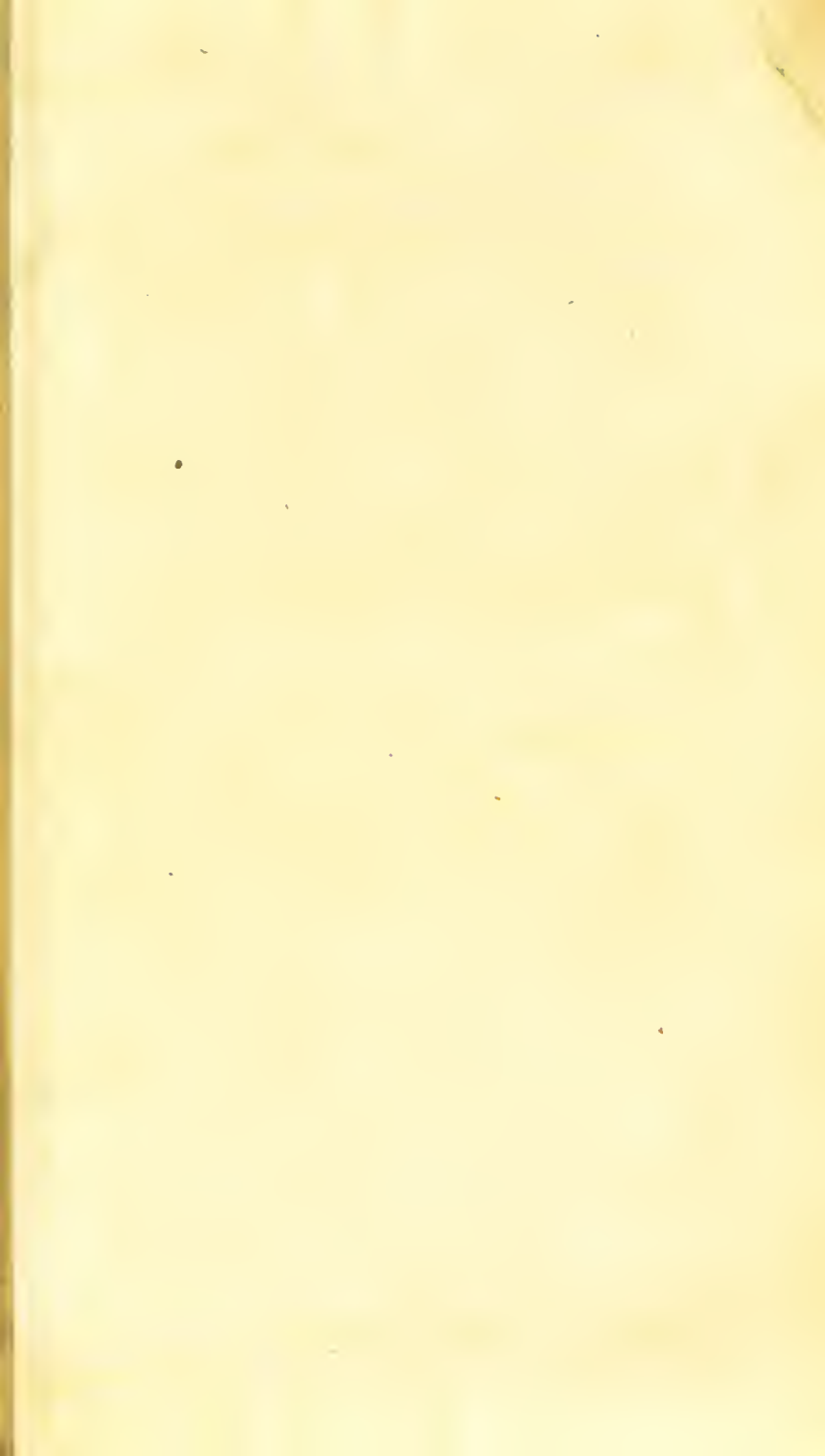
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